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MAJOR GENERAL

SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BAR.T K.C.B.

London Published by Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley. New Burlington Street 1830.

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THE LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART. AND K.C.B.

LATE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND PRIVATE PAPERS.

BY THE REV. G. R. GLEIG,

M.A. M.R.S.L. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:
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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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2C

TO HIS GRACE

ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

&c. &c. &c.

WHO, FROM A PERSONAL INTIMACY WITH

SIR THOMAS MUNRO,

WAS ENABLED

JUSTLY TO APPRECIATE THE MERITS

OF THAT DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS, WITH SENTIMENTS

OF THE MOST PROFOUND RESPECT

AND ADMIRATION,

INSCRIBED.

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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

In sending to the press a Second Edition of the Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Munro, I should have probably spared the reader the labour of perusing even this brief Advertisement, had the sole task imposed upon me been that of expressing my personal gratification, that in the estimate which I had ventured to form of the public taste, I have not been disappointed. It is, indeed, in the highest degree satisfactory to find, that a series of letters, bearing the ill-omened date of India, have by their intrinsic merit fairly conquered the prejudices, with which almost every species of literary composition connected with our Eastern empire is regarded; and hence, that a ray of hope may be admitted, that the period is not far removed when the affairs of that most valuable portion of the empire shall be treated by Englishmen in general with the attention which they deserve. But neither this feeling, nor the honest pride attaching to the consciousness that I did not over-estimate the excellence of my materials, would have induced me to tres-

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pass for one moment on the time of my reader, had I not been compelled to notice assertions of a nature disgraceful only to those who have been bold enough to advance them. Will it be credited that men exist, so base, or so utterly misled, as to accuse Sir Thomas Munro,—the former of bare-faced knavery in selling his opinions, delivered before the House of Commons, for money; the latter of a species of knavery scarcely less contemptible, by the advocating, for party purposes, of sentiments which he knew to be incorrect, and which bear upon their face the marks of inconsistency!!! Such, however, is the case; and to these charges am I called upon severally to reply!!!

I will not so far insult either the memory of the great man whose career it has been my fortune inadequately to trace, or the good sense of the English public, as to notice the first of these attacks, except in the substance of terms already well applied by a writer in the Quarterly Review. "No man could bring such a charge against Sir Thomas Munro, except a wretch, capable of bartering away the honour of his wife, his mother, or his sister for gold." With respect to the second, as it comes from a quarter more respectable, because not hidden under the cloud of an *anonyme*, it may be proper to meet it more at length. It amounts to this; that Sir Thomas Munro set himself strongly, in 1813, against the system of free trade, by asserting, contrary to all experience, that Europeans could not with safety to the Government be permitted to deal with the natives of India, except under strict surveillance; and that were they so permitted, the habits of the Hindoos are such, that they never

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could be induced to purchase largely from European merchants. Such is the gist of a long catalogue of accusations, brought forward in a recent publication by Mr. Rickards; in which he labours to convict, not Sir Thomas Munro only, but almost every servant of the Company, whose evidence was taken before the Committee in 1813, of gross partiality, —I might almost have said, of open tergiversation.

The best answer which I can make to such a charge as this is, by begging the reader to peruse with attention the paper introduced into Chapter VI. of the First Volume of this work,—bearing in mind the state of prices, both in England and India, as it existed at the time when the paper in question was written. If, however, he will take the trouble to look a little farther, he will see, in the Supplement to the Fifth Report, that Colonel Munro expressly declares "that the Hindoo has no prejudices against any thing which he can convert to useful purposes;" that "while he can get clothing better and cheaper in his own country, the influence of climate, his religious and civil habits, and the excellence of his own manufactures, will preclude the consumption of European articles;—that until we can very greatly reduce our prices, we shall find no market in India;—that there must be a very great improvement in our machinery for the manufacture of woollens, before we can sell them in India;—that the reduction in our prices was not likely to be such, except at some distant period, as to create any material increase of demand for the export of our manufactures to India;" and that, "until we can undersell them in such articles as they require for their own use, we can have no

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hope of extending the use of our manufactures in India;" nay more, "that if we could furnish our woollens (and if woollens, other manufactured goods of course,) as cheap or something cheaper than the natives can furnish their own, there would be a very considerable demand, and that any improvement in the means of the natives would greatly tend to facilitate their consumption." Now to what does all this amount? To a question of price, and to nothing more—to an assertion on the part of Sir Thomas Munro, that in 1813 European manufactured goods, whether woollen or cotton, could find no market in India, because they were much dearer than those produced by the Hindoos themselves, and that there was then no probability, as far as human foresight extended, that a different result would ensue. Can it then be said that Sir Thomas Munro advanced a single statement in which both facts and probabilities failed to bear him out?—for surely no person will deny, either that the price of our manufactures was in 1813 such as to render them quite unsaleable in an Indian market, or that of the improvements in machinery and other causes which have since operated to reduce their cost, the most sagacious speculatist could have then formed no anticipation. Yet upon this ground has Mr. Rickards ventured to build up against the memory of Sir Thomas Munro a charge of grievous inconsistency, not to call it by a harsher term.

There are other statements hazarded by Mr. Rickards, which a strong disinclination to occupy too much space alone prevents me from noticing at large. He reprobates Sir Thomas Munro's principles at one page in his book, because

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that gentleman had ventured to assert that British traders ought not to be permitted to settle in India, except where a European magistrate resides;—at another, as if Sir Thomas were the unflinching advocate of monopolies—and of monopolies, too, in the hands of the Company! No man who peruses these volumes will, I think, give Mr. Rickards credit even for common discernment; for surely the Company never sent forth a servant more zealous than Sir Thomas Munro in restraining its monopolies. Let any man consult the document given in the Appendix relative to the timber trade in Malabar, and that alone will satisfy him. With respect again to the other charge, I admit it to its fullest extent; and I do so, because I see in it one proof, in addition to numberless others, of the sound judgment and discretion of the accused. Sir Thomas Munro knew perfectly well that to the prejudices of the natives, Englishmen are not, even after a long sojourn in the country, too attentive: he could not, therefore, fail to discover, that were strangers permitted to rush into the interior, where no such authority as they would respect restrained them, the most flagrant outrages must ensue. I confess that I am neither able nor willing to enter the lists with Mr. Rickards on this head.

What then were the opinions of Sir Thomas Munro in 1813, when his evidence was given before a Committee of the House of Commons? They were those of a man, who, having spent a quarter of a century among the natives of India, having studied their institutions, made himself thoroughly conversant with their habits, dived into their pre-

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judices, and conceived a just estimate of their feelings, was not willing to make furious inroads upon all these, for the mere purpose of yielding to a popular clamour, and that too while no prospect of advantage even to the clamourers was held out. On the general subject of a free trade to India, however, his opinions never varied. He uniformly contended that so soon as we should be able to bring into the Indian market goods at a rate cheaper than that attainable by the Natives, then, and not till then, might this trade be opened with advantage. What man, possessed of the commonest reflection or judgment, would have spoken otherwise? Nor is this all. Sir Thomas Munro was, from first to last, an advocate for a free trade with India, on *terms of strict reciprocity*. "What we want most," says he, "is as free an export of our produce to England, as from England to India; admission to all our silks and coloured cloths, and on moderate terms." Such were his sentiments, expressed in a letter to a friend, dated so recently as 1823; and the public are at length beginning happily to discover, that the India trade is more fettered by the heavy duties imposed in this country on the produce of India, than by the few and unimportant restrictions which the Company are permitted to continue on the export trade of England.

Mr. Rickards is a man of indisputable talent; but, as his late work proves, strongly imbued with personal and political prejudices. With these I have no desire to interfere further than by assuring him, that he need not hope to erect a reputation for himself on any ruins which he can effect in the well-earned fame of Sir Thomas Munro.

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PREFACE.

In spite of the unaccountable apathy with which every subject connected with the administration of British India is regarded, there are few persons conversant with the transactions of the last fifty years, to whom the name of Sir Thomas Munro can be absolutely unknown. The many striking and important transactions in which he bore a part; the high and responsible offices which he filled; the friendships which he contracted with most of the distinguished characters of the age; and the estimation in which he was held by them,—these circumstances have all contributed to draw him more generally into notice than almost any Indian functionary of modern times; whilst the attention thus excited, has rarely failed to be kept alive, by an examination, however superficial, into his own merits and services. No apology, therefore, seems necessary for the attempt now made, to make his countrymen in general better acquainted than they are with the history of a man, "than whom," Mr. Canning with no less truth than elegance has declared, "Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier."*

But though the extraordinary merits of the individual himself might well justify the desire of rendering the particulars of his career as public as possible, it is due to the

* Speech of Mr. Canning, on occasion of a vote of thanks being passed in favour of the army employed against the Mahrattas in 1817, 18, and 19.

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feelings of those most deeply interested in the present undertaking, to avow, that they have been actuated by other, and no less praiseworthy motives. Few public men have owed less to others, or more to themselves, than Major-General Sir Thomas Munro. He entered the military service of the East India Company at the early age of eighteen; if not absolutely destitute of money and interest, at all events not more abundantly provided with either than the generality of youths similarly circumstanced; yet, by dint of his own genius, his own industry, his own integrity, and his own sound discretion, he rose to fill the highest station in the Presidency to which he was originally attached as a Cadet.

Were there no other reason, therefore, to be assigned for the present publication, the act might be justified on the ground that such a work is calculated to teach a very important lesson, by impressing upon the minds of young men employed in the public service, that there is no prize beyond the grasp of talent, provided it be accompanied by industry and strictly honourable conduct.

It must, however, be confessed, that other motives besides these have had their full weight on the present occasion. Perhaps there never lived an European more intimately acquainted than Sir Thomas Munro, with the characters, habits, manners, and institutions of the natives of India; because there never lived an European who at once possessed better opportunities of acquiring such knowledge, and made more ample use of them. Profoundly versed in the Hindoostanee and other vernacular languages, and thrown continually into situations where the vernacular languages were alone spoken, he saw a great deal both of Hindoos and Mohammedans, in what may be termed their natural state; and hence the conclusions at which he arrived touching their dispositions and customs were at once more philosophical, and more likely to be correct, than those of men who have conversed only with the corrupt and degraded race that frequent our Courts of Law, or surround our Presidencies. It was an

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act of justice, both to his own memory and to the inhabitants of British India, that his sentiments on these heads should not be concealed; whilst their publication, if it lead but to farther inquiry, may be productive of the most important benefits, not merely to the dependent, but to the ruling country. It is not within my province, did I possess the ability, to pass judgment, in a work like this, on the system of internal administration pursued in British India; but he must be a bold man who will contend that it is, in all respects, absolutely perfect; and sure I am, that by none have more judicious schemes of amelioration been pointed out, than by the distinguished subject of the present memoir.

Again, there are many persons who, without perplexing themselves with questions of police and revenue, are nevertheless desirous of knowing something of the general history of India,—of the nature of the climate, of the condition of the inhabitants, of the productions of the soil, and of the state of trade. By all such, the life of Sir Thomas Munro will be found well worthy of perusal; inasmuch as there was not one of these points to which he failed to turn his attention, or of which he has neglected to give an account, as accurate as it is entertaining. Then again, if wit and playful humour, if vivid description and lively narrative, possess attractions in the eyes of readers in general, they are all to be found here; whether the subject discussed be the operations of armies, the proceedings of social circles, points of literary disquisition, or the feelings of the individual himself. In a word, the memoir is given to the public for three excellent reasons: first, because it is the right of eminent services that they should not be at once forgotten; secondly, because the work may, it is hoped, prove useful; and, thirdly, because, unless I grossly deceive myself, it will be found both interesting and amusing among others, besides circles strictly Indian.

Having thus explained the motives which led to the publication of the present memoir, it remains for me to say a few

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words touching my own situation, as connected with its publication.

I had not the happiness to be in the slightest degree acquainted with the late distinguished Governor of Madras,—I never so much as saw him; but I have long known and admired his character and conduct, both as a soldier and a statesman. Circumstances having induced me to pay more attention to Indian subjects than is perhaps usual with men not personally connected with that country; I have found many opportunities of estimating, as they deserved, the sound judgment and high talents of Sir Thomas Munro: and hence, as far as a just conception of the principles and order of his public life qualify one man to write the history of another, I am willing to persuade myself, that I am not unfit to appear as his biographer. But on my own qualifications, whether extensive or otherwise, I have, happily, not been obliged to depend. There is another gentleman connected with this undertaking, to whom by far the greater share of its merits, if it have any, is due; I mean J. G. Ravenshaw, Esq. one of the Directors of the East India Company,—a name not to be mentioned without respect. That gentleman had actually prepared a work, similar in almost every respect to mine, which, with the utmost liberality, he put into my hands, to be used as materials only. It is but just to add, that Mr. Ravenshaw is not responsible for any opinions which I have ventured to advance. These, whether sound or unsound, are my own: but the principal labour of collecting the correspondence, a good deal of the arrangement, and, to a certain extent at least, the drawing up of the plan, devolved upon him. It is true, that I have not considered myself bound to adhere to his suggestions in every respect; many letters which he had marked for insertion I have omitted, and several which he had omitted I have introduced; but, on the whole, my obligations to him are too numerous and too weighty, not to be thus publicly and gratefully acknowledged.

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With respect to the plan itself, it has been adopted as presenting the best opportunities of making the reader come, as it were, into personal contact with the individual whose story he peruses. In his own letters, especially in those addressed to his nearest relatives and most intimate friends, a much more accurate idea is to be formed of a man's character, than from any history detailed in the third person; and if these exhibit, as the letters of Sir Thomas Munro unquestionably do, marks of deep thought and brilliant genius, they are infinitely more attractive than any other species of literary composition. I do not, therefore, hesitate to own, that if the following correspondence be not widely read and universally relished, I shall for the future greatly distrust my own judgment in such matters.

The following interesting epitome of his services, drawn up, I believe, on the occasion of his advancement to the Order of the Bath, was found among the private papers of Sir Thomas Munro. It is given, as forming no inapt introduction to the more detailed account which will be found in the sequel.

MEMORANDUM OF SERVICES.

I ARRIVED at Madras on the 15th of January 1780, and did duty in the garrison of Fort St. George, until the invasion of the Carnatic, in July, by Hyder. I marched on the ——— with the grenadier company to which I belonged, the 21st battalion of sepoys, and a detachment of artillery, to Poonamalee; and from thence, after being joined by His Majesty's 73rd regiment, to the Mount, where the army had been ordered to assemble. The cadet company having arrived in camp, I was ordered to do duty with it on the 20th of August 1780, and marched on the 26th of that month with the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. I continued with the army while it was commanded by that officer, and afterwards by Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, and Lieutenant-General Stewart, during all the operations in

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the Carnatic, in the war with the Mysoreans and the French, from the commencement of hostilities by Hyder Ally, until the cessation of arms with the French, on the 2nd of July 1783.

I was present in the retreat of Sir Hector Munro from Conjeveram to Madras, after the defeat of Colonel Baillie by Hyder Ally, on the 10th of September 1780.

I was with the army under Sir Eyre Coote, at the relief of Wandiwash, on the 24th of January 1781.

At the cannonade by Hyder Ally, on the march from Pondicherry to Cuddalore, on the 7th of February 1781.

At the assault of Chilliumbrune, 18th of June 1781.

At the battle of Porto Novo, 1st of July 1781.

At the siege of Trepassore, 22nd of August 1781.

At the battle of Polliloor, 27th of August 1781.

At the battle of Sholingur, 27th of September 1781.

I was with the advanced division of the army, under Colonel Owen, when that officer was attacked and defeated by Hyder Ally, near Chittore, on the 23rd of October 1781; but the 16th battalion of sepoys, to which I belonged, having been detached to the village of Magraul, about five miles distant, to collect grain, and a body of the ememy having thrown itself between this post and the corps under Colonel Owen, and rendered the junction of the battalions impracticable, Captain Cox, who commanded it, made good his retreat to the main army, by a forced march of nearly forty miles over the hills.

I was present at the taking of Chittore, on the 11th of November 1781.

On the —— of November 1781, having been appointed Quarter-master of brigade, I joined the 5th or left brigade of the army.

I was present when the army, on its march to relieve Vellore, was harassed and cannonaded by Hyder Ally, on the 10th and 13th of January 1782.

I was present at the battle of Arnee, on the 2nd of June 1782.

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At the attack of the French lines, and battle of Cuddalore, on the 13th June 1783; on which occasion I acted as aid-de-camp to Major Cotgrave, field-officer of the day, who commanded the centre attack.

I was present at the siege of Cuddalore, until the 2nd of July 1783, when hostilities ceased, in consequence of accounts having been received of the peace with France. From this period I remained with a division of the army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Madras, until after the definitive treaty with Tippoo Sultan, in March 1784.

In July 1784, I proceeded to join my corps stationed at Melloor, near Madura. In January 1785, having been removed to the 30th battalion, I joined it at Tanjore; and on its being reduced a few months after, I was appointed to the 1st battalion of sepoys, in the same garrison, with which I did duty until ——— 1786; when, being promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, I was appointed to the —— battalion European infantry, in garrison at Madras.

In 1786, I was removed to the 11th battalion, and joined it in September, at Cassimcottah, near Vizagapatam. In January 1787, having been appointed to the 21st battalion, I joined it in the following month at Vellore.

In August 1788, having been appointed an assistant in the Intelligence Department, under Captain Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the province of Guntoor, ceded by the Soubah of the Deccan, I joined the force assembled near Ongole for that purpose, and continued with it until, the service having been completed by the occupation of the forts, I proceeded to Ambore, a frontier station, commanded by Captain Read, under whom I was employed in the Intelligence Department until October 1790: in that month I joined the 21st battalion of Native infantry, in the army under Colonel Maxwell, which, in consequence of the war with Tippoo Sultan, invaded the Baramahl.

I was with the detachment sent out to cover the retreat of

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the 1st regiment of Native cavalry, which fell into an ambuscade near Caveripatam, on the 11th of November 1790, I served in the field with the main army, or with detachments of it, until the conclusion of the war.

I was present in the pursuit of Tippoo by Lieutenant-General Meadows, through the Tappoor Pass, on the 18th of November 1790.

When the army, under Lord Cornwallis, entered Mysore in February 1791, I was appointed to the command of a small body of two hundred sepoys, called the Prize Guard, to be employed in securing captured property, and in collecting cattle for the army on its march, and various other duties.

I was stationed in the town of Bangalore during the siege of the fort; and was present when it was taken by storm, on the 21st of March 1791.

I was with the army at the battle of Carrighal, near Seringapatam, on the 15th of May 1791.

On the return of the army from Seringapatam to the neighbourhood of Bangalore, I was constantly employed on detachment in escorting military stores and provisions to camp, until December 1791, when the army being ready to advance to the siege of Seringapatam, I was thrown into the fort of Ootradroog, to cover the march of convoys from Bangalore to camp.

In the following month, January 1792, I was appointed assistant to Captain Read, who commanded a detachment at Bangalore, employed in forwarding supplies to the army.

In February 1792, I marched with this officer, and joined the army before Seringapatam, during the negotiations for peace.

On the settlement of the peace, in March 1792, I marched with the detachment in charge of the two sons of Tippoo, who were to be sent as hostages to Madras.

In April 1792, I marched with the force ordered to occupy the Baramahl, ceded by Tippoo to the British Government.

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From April 1792, until March 1799, I was employed in the civil administration of that country.

On the breaking out of the war with Tippoo Sultan, I joined the army under Lieutenant-General Harris, intended for the siege of Seringapatam, near Raicottah, on the 5th of March 1799.

Colonel Read, to whom I had been appointed secretary, having been detached on the 11th to bring forward the supplies in the rear of the army, took the hill-fort of Ianighérry by assault on the 15th, on which occasion I was present.

The detachment, after collecting the convoys, set out for Seringapatam; but, owing to the labour of repairing the Pass of Caveriporam, it did not reach the army until the 10th of May, six days after the fall of the place.

Having been appointed by the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, one of the secretaries to the Commission for the settlement of Mysore, I acted in that capacity until the conclusion of the Partition-Treaty, and the installation of the Rajah, on the —— of July 1799.

As I had been appointed to the charge of the civil administration of Canara, I entered that province in the end of July, and joined the force which had been previously sent to expel the enemy's garrisons.

From July 1799, till the end of October 1800, I remained in charge of Canara.

In the beginning of November 1800, I proceeded to the Ceded Districts, to the civil administration of which I had been appointed in the preceding month.

I continued in charge of the Ceded Districts until the 23rd of October 1807, when I sailed for England, having then been employed, without interruption, during a period of nearly twenty-eight years in India.

I remained in England from April 1808, till May 1814, when I embarked for India, and reached Madras on the 16th of September 1814.

From September 1814, till July 1817, I was employed as Principal Commissioner for the revision of the Internal Administration in the Madras territories.

When preparations were made for taking the field against the Pindarries, I was appointed to the command of the reserve of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop. The reserve was, in July 1817, ordered to advance and take possession of Dharwar, which the Peishwah had ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Poonah. I reached Dharwar on the 10th of August, three days after it had been given up to the advanced battalion of the reserve. I remained at Dharwar until the 11th of October, engaged in arranging, with Mahratta commissioners, the limits of the districts which had been ceded by the Peishwah. On the 12th of October, I commenced my march for Sondoor, a district held by a refractory Mahratta chief, whom I was ordered to dispossess, and to deliver it up to the officers of the Peishwah.

On the —— of October, I arrived at Sondoor, which the chief surrendered without opposition. On the 7th of November 1817, having repassed the Toombuddra, I directed the reserve, in pursuance of orders from head-quarters, to take up a position beyond the Kistna, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, and proceeded myself to Dharwar to finish the political arrangements with the Mahratta commissioners.

On the 14th of November, arrive at Dharwar; learn that the Peishwah has commenced hostilities, and finding that my rejoining the reserve was rendered impracticable by the interposition of the enemy's troops, determine to endeavour to subdue the neighbouring districts, by the influence of a party among the leading inhabitants, and by the aid of a detachment from the garrison of Dharwar, assisted by a body of irregulars collected from the country.

On the —— of December 1817, disperse a body of the enemy's horse, joined by the garrison of Nawlgoond, and

take possession of the forts evacuated by the enemy on our approach.

On the —— of January 1818, having been joined by a small battering train from Bellari, lay siege to Guddur, which surrenders on the —— of January.

On the —— of January, take the fort of Dumbull.

On the —— of January, the fort of Hoobley, and on the day following, its dependent fort of Misriekottah is given up to a detachment sent to occupy it.

On the —— of February 1818, pass the Malpurbah; and, after routing a body of the enemy's horse and foot near the village of ——, encamped near Badami.

On the 17th of February, a practicable breach having been made, storm and carry the place. On the 21st of February take Bagricottah.

On the 10th of February, take Padshapoor.

On the 21st of March, encamp before Belgamee; and, after a siege of twenty days, take the place by capitulation on the 10th of April.

On the 16th of April, Kalla Nundilghur is given up to a detachment of irregulars which I sent to invest it.

On the 22nd of April, rejoin the reserve.

On the 10th of May, take the pettah of Sholapoor by assault. Defeat the Peishwah's infantry under Gunput Row, at the battle of Sholapoor.

15th of May, take the fort of Sholapoor by capitulation, after a practicable breach had been made.

31st of May, encamp before Nepaumi, and compel Appah Dessay to give orders for the delivery of Ookarah and other places to the Rajah of Bolapoor.

On the 8th of August 1818, having received the surrender of Paunghur, the last fort held for the Peishwah, resign my command, after having, in the course of the campaign, reduced all the Peishwah's territories between the Toombuddra and Kistna; and from the Kistna northward to Akloos, on the Neemah, and eastward to the Nizam's frontier.

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The following contains a general view of his Civil and Military promotions.

Cadet	1779.
Ensign	October 1780.
Lieutenant	11 February 1786.
Brevet-Captain	7 February 1796.
Captain	15 June 1796.
Major	7 May 1800.
Lieutenant-Colonel	24 April 1804.
Colonel	15 June 1815.
Brigadier-General	December 1817.
Companion of the Bath	October 1818.
Major-General	August 1819.
K.C.B.	November 1819.
Governor of Madras	1819.
Baronet	June 1826.

Ash, near Wingham, Kent,
Nov. 9, 1829.

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THE LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MUNRO,

BART. & K.C.B. &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Birth.—Parentage.—Early Habits.—Departure from home.

THOMAS MUNRO was born at Glasgow, on the 27th of May, 1761. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Munro, a respectable merchant of that city, and the second of a family which consisted originally of five sons and two daughters; all of whom lived long enough to witness the growing reputation of their relative, whilst the greater number survived to behold it at its height. The maiden name of his mother was Margaret Stark. She derived her descent from the Starks of Kellermont, was the sister of Dr. William Stark, the distinguished anatomist, and, like her husband, possessed excellent talents, a strong judgment, and a cultivated taste; whilst to her many amiable qualities as a wife, a parent, and a friend, all who came within the circle of her acquaintance bear testimony.

It rarely occurs that the infancy even of the most illustrious men, is distinguished by any event worthy of record; and so

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far the infancy of Sir Thomas Munro followed the ordinary course of nature. He suffered, indeed, severely from the measles, which attacked him at an early age, and affected him with a partial deafness from which he never afterwards recovered; but with this exception, I am not aware of any occurrence, at this stage of his career, deserving of particular notice from his biographer. The case is somewhat different with respect to that interesting period, when the contingencies of a school-life bring the natural character into view, and the bent of the man's genius is, for the most part, pretty accurately pointed out by the proceedings and tastes of the boy. As the early habits of Sir Thomas Munro differed, in many essential particulars, from those of boys in general, it may not be amiss to subjoin here a brief sketch of them.

Young Munro received the rudiments of his education, first at an English day-school, and afterwards at the Grammar-school of Glasgow; through both which he passed with the reputation of being, if not the most industrious, at all events one of the cleverest lads of his standing. Unlike most youths, he seems to have paid but little attention to his lessons, except during the hours of public business; yet such were his readiness and aptitude of learning, that he always maintained a high station in his class. But it was not in the presence of his tutor only, nor in matters connected with scholastic proceedings properly so called, that Munro especially distinguished himself. Among his companions, he was an object not merely of affection but of respect. A temper singularly mild, a deportment singularly open, a disposition generous to a degree, rarely to be met with, and a lively and cheerful manner, secured for him the former feeling wherever he was known; whilst he possessed in no ordinary extent the qualities fitted to command the latter in that epitome of the great world, a public school. Munro was endowed by nature with a robust frame, great courage, extraordinary agility, and no less extraordinary presence of mind. In every manly and athletic exercise he excelled; and in his knowledge of

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the pugilistic art he is admitted to have stood unrivalled. The consequence was, that whenever any enterprise was to be undertaken, beset, or supposed to be beset, with more than common danger, Munro was invariably chosen to be the leader; and he seldom failed, by bringing it to a successful termination, to justify the wisdom of the selection. With all these advantages, however, of strength and science, Munro was remarkable among his contemporaries for his placidity and forbearance of temper. In no instance is he known to have provoked a quarrel; in numberless instances has he avoided it; indeed, nothing short of some gross insult or injustice, offered to himself or others, ever induced him to strike a blow. The following extract of a letter from one of his surviving playfellows will place his conduct, in this particular, in its true light.

"I remember," says the writer, "that Sir Thomas was by far the most skilful boxer at school; he beat every boy with whom he fought, even those who were several years older than himself: he was generally known by the name of 'Millie Munro,' and was looked on as unequalled and invincible at milling; but he bore his faculties most meekly. He never sought a quarrel, and never was, in the smallest degree, insolent or domineering. On the contrary, he was remarkably good-natured and peaceable; and his superiority in fighting became known only in consequence of his resisting the unprovoked attacks of quarrelsome boys of superior age and strength, and beating them by his coolness, his courage, and his unequalled endurance. He was the protector of the weak against the strong, and, at the same time, he was so unassuming and inoffensive, that he had no enemies. This is not my opinion only—it was that of all our contemporaries, who are now almost all dead."

At the Grammar-school of Glasgow, young Munro remained until he had entered into his thirteenth year, when he was removed; and after a short interval, spent chiefly in acquiring a knowledge of French, of writing, and arithmetic,

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he was entered at the College and University of his native city. There he studied mathematics, under Professor Williamson, and chemistry with the celebrated Dr. Irvine, in both of which sciences he made rapid progress; indeed, the latter gentleman has been heard repeatedly to affirm, that he never had under his care a more promising pupil.

Whilst he thus conducted himself in what may, perhaps, be termed public life, young Munro's private pursuits were no less illustrative of the spirit that lay dormant within him. Devoted as he was to every active amusement; an excellent wrestler, a no less excellent runner, leaper, and swimmer, he was equally devoted, as often as opportunity occurred, to reading; and the works which he perused with the deepest interest at each stage of his existence, serve to point out, that from the first, his was a mind of no vulgar conformation. His earliest favourites were Robinson Crusoe, the Lives of the Buccaneers, Anson's Voyages, &c. with other works descriptive of adventure and daring; but as his years increased, these gradually gave place to other and more valuable, though scarcely less exciting, performances. Plutarch's Lives soon attracted his attention; Hume's History of England made large demands upon him; and Don Quixote became then, as it continued to the last, an especial favourite. It is worthy of remark, that he studied the latter work, not, as is very frequently done by readers of a more advanced age, merely on account of the humour contained in it, but from a clear perception of its real excellences, more especially in the character of the Don, chivalrous and high-minded amid all his eccentricities. So far, indeed, was his admiration of the performance carried, that, without any other assistance besides what a grammar and a dictionary afforded, he made himself, at sixteen years of age, master of the Spanish language, in order that he might duly relish those beauties, of which he had been given to understand that a very imperfect idea could be formed by examining them through the medium of a translation. Nor was his study of the language

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in which Cervantes wrote, permitted at all to interfere with his other occupations. It was treated by himself as an accomplishment to be acquired at leisure hours only, though so intent was he upon it, that he rose in the winter months several hours before daybreak, lighted his lamp, and sedulously pursued it.

It has been stated that the disposition of Sir Thomas Munro was, from its earliest developement, singularly generous. Of this fact, ample proofs will be exhibited in the course of the following memoir; but it were an act of injustice not to give, at least, one specimen of the mode in which it operated even now. Not long after he had thus acquired a knowledge of Spanish, he was called upon to translate certain papers found in a prize, which was taken by a ship belonging to a mercantile house in Glasgow. He accomplished his task so much to the satisfaction of the owners, that they presented him with a sum of money in testimony of their regard, which Munro instantly carried to his sister, with a request that she would give it to his mother. He himself, he said, neither had, nor could have, the smallest use for it; and he persisted in refusing, though urgently and repeatedly entreated, to retain even a small portion of it.

For nearly three years young Munro appears to have kept his name upon the College books, during the whole of which period his thirst of knowledge was very remarkable. When he first began to read for his own amusement, his taste leaned, as is usual with spirited boys, to descriptions of war and battles, or to the details of individual heroism and endurance. By degrees, however, he looked beyond such points, and delighted to examine the principles upon which men acted, not less than to peruse the details of actions themselves. He now studied Plutarch, not more with a view to watch the fortunes of Alexander in the field, than to trace the motives which led him there, and the system on which he pursued his conquests. In like manner, he found in the lives of Lycurgus and Numa matter not less interesting than in

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those of Theseus and Romulus; whilst the comparisons which the biographer draws between one of his heroes and another, furnished ample food for reflection to his youthful admirer. The case was precisely similar in Munro's examination of historical works. He no longer read Hume for the sake of his spirited details of the wars of the two Roses, or the grand rebellion, but relished him to the full as much, when treating of the state of knowledge at different epochs, and the progress of commerce and civilization, as when describing personal rencontres, or hair-breadth escapes. Nevertheless, his general line of study evinced a decided predilection for the military art, regarded as something more important than the mere routine of a subaltern's life. He perused with avidity the histories of more modern times,—narratives of the wars in the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne, and of the campaigns of the great Frederick, and the events which preceded them; whilst the policy which guided the several powers, in their alliances and disagreements, their views in prosecuting and abandoning the contest,—these, with the general tactics of Frederick himself, political as well as military, furnished him with wide scope for study. He read history, in short, no longer for amusement, but for instruction; and by making himself acquainted with the motives which guided men in other times, obtained no imperfect insight into those which were likely to actuate them in his own.

It is not, however, to be imagined that young Munro gave himself up so entirely to these researches, as to be insensible to the charms of poetry, or the beauties of romance. To both he was keenly alive, as his enthusiastic admiration of Shakspeare and Spenser, and, above all, of the poetical portions of the Bible, may prove; indeed, his mind appears to have been so constituted, as to be able to comprehend and to enjoy whatever was really excellent, in every species of literary composition. The following fact will, it is presumed, abundantly testify to the truth of this assertion. The same individual who delighted in the grave but spirited details of Plutarch

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and Hume, and was enraptured with the description of Titania's Bower, or Una's "Gentle Knight," devoured with intense interest Smith's Wealth of Nations; which he laid aside, that he might for a time forget its very existence, whilst following the Don in his adventures, or laughing over the eccentricities of Roderick Random. Yet, with all his love of reading, Munro ceased not to love his sports, and to engage in them with an avidity rarely equalled; indeed, the stranger who saw him only with a fishing-rod in his hand, or "with lusty arm buffeting the wave," could have hardly been persuaded to believe that he ever gave a thought to other occupations.

Though born and educated in Glasgow, Munro was not denied the opportunity of indulging in those rural occupations to which his manly and ingenuous temperament impelled him. His father rented a villa, called Northwoodside, beautifully situated up the Kelvin, and distant about two miles, or perhaps something more, from the city, whither the family was in the habit of removing every summer, and where young Munro spent most of his vacations. The house was an old-fashioned pile, surrounded by a court-yard, into which, after passing through an avenue of venerable trees, admission was obtained by a massy iron gate. Behind it was a garden, which overhung the bed of the Kelvin, and commanded a delightful view of the wooded and broken banks which girdle in that romantic stream; whilst not far removed was a pool, or mill-dam, known by the name of Jackson's Dam, and frequently referred to in the course of the following correspondence. To the whole family this spot was peculiarly dear, inasmuch as it originally belonged to Mrs. Munro's maternal grandfather; but by none was a temporary residence there more intensely enjoyed than by the subject of this memoir. Keenly and sensitively alive to every thing grand or beautiful in nature, young Munro appeared to enter upon a new state of being, as often as he visited it. If he read, it was either seated upon a rustic bench which stood beneath a tall tree in

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the garden, or perched among the highest branches of the tree itself. If a fit of idleness took him, he indulged it by rambling, sometimes from sunrise till nightfall, among the woods; or he would fish the Kelvin with his brothers or companions; and, when weary of that amusement, would refresh himself by swimming in the dam. The latter, indeed, seems to have been with him a very favourite exercise; and the consequence was, that he particularly excelled in it.

In this manner, time passed away, till young Munro attained to the age of sixteen; when his father, who designed him for the mercantile profession, obtained for him a situation in the counting-house of Messrs. Somerville and Gordon, one of the most extensive West-India houses in Glasgow. The above event took place in 1777, when the American war was at its height, and Glasgow, among other loyal towns, deemed it expedient to furnish men for the public service. Upon this occasion, the magistrates, who were not unacquainted with Mr. Munro's military propensities, made him a tender of a Lieutenancy in the corps which they were raising. Had the right of choice been left to himself, Munro would have gladly grasped at the proposal; and his rise in the King's service would have been, without a doubt, as rapid as his merits must have become speedily conspicuous; but no such power was given to him. His father expressed himself strongly opposed to the measure, and Munro was too dutiful a son to thwart a parent's wishes, even though at the expense of a serious sacrifice of his own. He accordingly closed his ears against the whispers of ambition, and continued at his desk without repining, for about two years longer.

It has been stated, that Mr. Alexander Munro, the father of Sir Thomas, was a merchant, and that his dealings were extensive. These were carried on chiefly with Virginia, and for many years were attended with the greatest success; but the breaking out of the troubles gradually plunged him into difficulties, which the Act of Confiscation, passed by the Congress of the United States in 1776, brought to a head. Mr. Munro's affairs became, through no fault of his own, com-

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pletely involved. The house of which he was a partner stopped payment; and he himself, from a state of affluence, fell into comparative poverty. How nobly his sons in general, and the subject of the present memoir in particular, behaved towards their parents under this reverse of circumstances, the reader will discover for himself as he proceeds.

It seems to have been the anxious wish of Mr. Munro to establish his son Thomas in business in Glasgow; with which view he struggled hard, notwithstanding his own embarrassments, to retain him in his situation; but in the year 1779, the effort was found to be beyond his means, and was abandoned. The reader need scarcely be informed, that India, in those days, was looked upon as a Land of Promise, where every European must of necessity make a fortune, no matter what the nature of his acquirements, or the extent of his talents might be; and as Munro's abilities were well known to his father, and justly valued by him, the latter not unnaturally concluded, that in such a theatre, his son's success was certain. It was accordingly proposed to send him thither; and the plan corresponding well with the bold and adventurous spirit of the youth, he very readily entered into it. There does not appear to have been any difficulty found in procuring for him an appointment; he was rated as a midshipman on board the Company's ship Walpole, Captain Abercrombie, and on the 20th of February, 1779, quitted home, a solitary adventurer, to push his way through life.

Mr. Munro was well received by his friends in London, and, by their assistance, was speedily supplied with such necessaries as were deemed essential to his comforts. Among these was included an article of dress now rarely to be met with, though then considered indispensable in the equipment of a gentleman,—I mean a cue, or false tail, with which, as he had not hitherto worn one, he seems to have been exceedingly amused.* But he buckled it on according to

* His expression is, "I got a false tail next morning. George Brown says it is one of the handsomest in London. I must own it is perfectly genteel; it is exactly the size and shape of a farthing candle."

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established usage, displayed it with great apparent indifference, and in due time proceeded, in his novel attire, to join his ship at Deptford.

Our midshipman had not occupied his berth many weeks, when a revolution was effected in the nature of his prospects, not, as may well be credited, in any respect disagreeable to a youth of aspiring mind and brilliant military genius. His father, who had been deputed by the Glasgow merchants to lay their claims of indemnity for losses sustained during the war, before the Government, arrived at this time in London; and, being acquainted with Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, one of the Directors of the East India Company, procured from him a Cadetship for his son. With this he hastened to Deptford, and, presenting it to Thomas, on board of the Walpole, was made happy by discovering that he could not have wrought a more acceptable work. But though Mr. Munro readily accepted the appointment, such was his abhorrence of a life of sheer idleness, that he continued voluntarily to perform the duties of a midshipman; and he persisted in thus employing himself during a considerable portion of the voyage, till certain military officers, who took their passage in the Walpole, and to whom he was personally known, at last prevailed upon him to quit the cockpit, and join the Cadets' mess. His account of a Midshipman's career is not, however, it must be confessed, of a very captivating nature. After stating, in one of his letters to his father, that the duties were more severe, and the hardships more numerous than he expected to find them, he goes on to say, "Roderick Random's is a very just description of a seaman's life; he got a wig, and I cut my hair, both for the same reason. There is one thing, however, in which I think he is wrong; he says, that in attempting to leap into his hammock, he threw himself over it. I tried this method; but, instead of throwing myself over, I hit one of the beams such a thump with my head, that I thought I had fractured my skull."

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Nothing has yet been said of the friendships which Mr. Munro contracted, or the intimacies which he formed in early life. From what has been stated of his peculiar habits and temper, the reader will easily believe that his circle of acquaintance was wide; but there was a degree of prudence about him which hindered him, even in boyhood, from indiscriminately lavishing his regards upon every playfellow. As a lad, the individuals whom he honoured with his confidence may be enumerated within a very narrow compass; they included few, if any persons, besides the sons of Dr. Moore, the celebrated author of Zeluco, and the late Mr. George Brown, of Russell-square, London; but his confidence, once bestowed, was little likely to be withdrawn, inasmuch as he was particularly careful that none should obtain who were not worthy of it. With Mr. Brown he kept up a constant and unrestrained correspondence to the day of his death. From the Moores, however, circumstances early divided him; and though he and the gallant Sir John entertained for each other an undiminished respect, they met but casually in after-life; with Sir Graham Moore, on the contrary, his boyish intimacy was renewed on his return to England in 1808, and continued, with increasing regard and esteem, to the last.

Before concluding this brief account of the early life of Sir Thomas Munro, it may not be out of place to record a somewhat uncommon occurrence which befell many years after. There happened to be in the same counting-house with himself, when his attention was directed to commercial pursuits, two young gentlemen named James Dunlop and William Wallace.* These exchanged the pen for the sword about the period when the subject of this memoir set out to join the Walpole, and the three adventurers met again, for the first time, under the walls of Seringapatam, in 1799, each holding a high and responsible situation in the army employed in the reduction of that city.

* Afterwards General James Dunlop, and Colonel William Wallace.

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The following gives an account of the mode in which young Munro spent his time, while residing in London, preparatory to his first voyage to India.

TO HIS SISTER.

London, 11th March, 1779.

DEAR ERSKINE,

IF I was to give you as much advice as I have got, about withstanding the predominant vices and follies of the age, and acquiring the graces, I might make a long enough letter. When I came here, I used to walk in Hyde Park every day, from two to four o'clock; at this time it is filled with carriages; the people of quality come to take the morning air; they go home about four o'clock to dress for dinner; the crowd of people and the dust made me desert the Park for Kensington Gardens. I stay with Mr. Gilson, Cashier to Mayne and Graham. I went to a tavern yesterday, where we dine for a shilling a head; there was a long table in the room with forty covers; the company amounted to twenty-five, seventeen of whom were Frenchmen. I did not understand one word they said, except commerce and maritime, which they sometimes pronounced with great emphasis, from which I concluded they were not in so good a state as they wished them to be. I live very happily, except sometimes when I am tormented by a tailor's wife, a neighbour of ours; these four or five days past about four o'clock, a little before I go out to dinner, she opened the door, looked in, and went down stairs. I could not understand her meaning till Tuesday, when she came in at her ordinary time with a large bowl of soup and a penny roll boiled in it. "The soup will do you good," says she, "you don't look well, and I am afraid you eat very sparingly." I endeavoured to convince her that I was well enough, but to no purpose; I was obliged to take the soup. I might as well have swallowed melted tallow. I thought to have avoided the soup yesterday; I did not come home till night; but I had the same bowl-full to supper last night that I had to dinner the day before. She has been telling the people below that the young gentleman in the garret is either in a consumption or starving himself.

I am, your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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CHAPTER II.

Arrival in India.—First introduction to the Society at Madras.—Early Campaigns against Hyder Ally.—Private Correspondence.—War with Tippoo.—Employment in the Intelligence Department.—Operations in the Mysore country.—Attack upon Tippoo's lines.

AMONG other measures adopted with the view of furthering Mr. Munro's prospects in life, his relatives, with praiseworthy industry, exerted themselves in procuring a number of recommendatory epistles to influential persons at Madras. With these he reached his place of destination in safety, on the 15th of January, 1780; and having delivered his credentials to such individuals as chanced to be within reach, he received from most of them a very hospitable reception. But it soon appeared in this instance, as it appears in others, that friends are not to be made by the magical influence of letters of introduction. Mr. Munro met with much civility; he was invited to dine with one functionary, to breakfast with another, and to sup with a third; but it can scarcely be asserted that the attentions of his new patrons extended farther. The consequence was, that Mr. Munro, whose taste as well as the state of his finances, rendered a frequent attendance on gay parties the reverse of agreeable, gradually withdrew himself from company, and confined his social rambles within a circle of a few persons whose genuine kindness of heart won his esteem. Among these there were two in particular, Mr. Haliburton and Mr. Alexander Ross, of whom, in his early correspondence, he makes frequent mention, and for whom he entertained to the last a high degree of respect.

The following letters, written at this period, abound with

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so much humour and talent, that I cannot deny to the reader the gratification of perusing them.

TO HIS FATHER.

Madras, 6th Feb. 1780.

DEAR SIR,

We sailed from the Cape on the 4th of Nov. We had a strong gale on the 25th, which gave us an opportunity of escaping from the fleet; had we arrived at Madras a fortnight before the other ships, as the Captain expected, it would have been very lucky for the Cadets on board, as we might have been appointed and sent up the country before the rest arrived. But when we arrived on the 17th of Jan. we found that the Superbe and Eagle had been there six days before us, and the next day the whole fleet arrived.

Most of the Cadets that have come out this year are for the Madras Establishment; the greatest part of them are Scotsmen, all particularly recommended to the care of the General. You cannot conceive what a number of relations he has got—nephews, cousin-germans, &c.

There are eighty-three Cadets for this Establishment, and very few for Bengal, all of whom Capt. H. says will have commissions the moment they arrive. I believe it would have been better if I had been for the Bengal Establishment, as I would have been sure of a commission even though I had no letters. George Smith and John Lennox went home, and George Macpherson died before I came here; all the rest of the people to whom I had letters, except Mr. Haliburton, were gone up the country.

As soon as I came ashore, I waited upon Mr. Haliburton; he is a very plain man, and the most entertaining that ever I was in company with: he gave me a general invitation to his house. A few days after, he carried me in his phaeton to the General's; he asked me many questions upon the road, and told me if I wanted any money, to let him know. I mentioned my deafness to him; "I know that," says he; "you must be as near the General as you can, and mind you be on his right hand; (he is not a ceremonious man) for he will be surprised if he asks you a question, and you don't make any answer." The General told me that he would do every thing for me that lay in his power; then turning to Mr. Haliburton. "You know," says he, "there are such a number of Cadets this season, that all that I can do for Mr. Munro is to send him up the country."

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Cadets here are allowed either five pagodas per month and free quarters, or ten pagodas and find their own lodging; all the Cadets follow the first way. Of the five pagodas, I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the mess, and one for hair-dressing and washing, so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me.

Hyder Ally has stopped two expresses coming overland; there have been some skirmishes, and a good many officers killed up the country. I hope he will soon begin to act more effectually. Jack Brown is a Lieutenant. I expect to hear from you soon; I have not heard any thing of Daniel this long time. Has Alexander gone to sea? if he has, he'll repent it. I will write to him and D. by the first opportunity, and tell him my reasons against his going to sea.

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

Fort St. George, 30th March, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I WROTE my mother, the 6th of February, upon a report that some of the ships were to sail for Europe in a few days. I delivered Mr. Robertson's letter to Mr. Ross. After reading it, "I see," says he, "that you understand Spanish and Italian, and of course you must be well versed in the learned languages. I suppose you have been educated in Glasgow: how long did you attend the College? What is the firm of the house you was in? Where did they trade to? When did you leave Scotland? How long was you in England? In what ship did you come out?" He asked all these questions, and a great many more, which made me think that he had some suspicions of me. After answering them all, he told me that he knew nothing of the drawer of the bill, and that he could do nothing without the consent of Mr. Cuthbert, who was joint attorney, but that I might call to-morrow and he would give me his answer, and that, in the mean time, when I was not otherwise engaged, he should always be glad to see me. Next day I called upon him; he told me that he was so busy that he had not had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Cuthbert, but that he would give me a positive answer to-morrow. I was going away, when he called me back: "I think," says he, "you told me that you came out in the Walpole; do you know this gentleman?" pointing to Doctor Allen, who came out in that ship. I told him I did. "I forgot to ask you," says he, "if you would have occasion for the full amount of the bill?"

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I told him that 12*l.* or 15*l.* would be sufficient. I called almost every day for a fortnight after, but he was always so much employed that he had not had an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Cuthbert. I happened to dine at his house one day along with a Cadet, who had a bill upon him for a small sum; after dinner, he went into the writing room and received his money; when he came out, Mr. Ross called me in. I don't know what was the reason, whether it was my great learning, which I had displayed that day more than usual, or that, by paying one bill he was put in a humour for paying more, but he told me that he would advance me twenty pagodas for my note, payable on demand. On the 1st of March our pay was increased to thirteen pagodas per month; Ross says, that it was at his request. One half of the Cadets were ordered to be at Velore, and the other half at Pondicherry, on the 1st of March. Mr. Haliburton told me that he had got me appointed for Velore, as I could live cheaper there, and would have a better opportunity of learning my duty than at Pondicherry. Ross advised me to go to Pondicherry, as the difference of expense was trifling, and that I would have an opportunity of learning the French language. I was surprised that Haliburton had overlooked this, but I soon found his reason; he told me that he would give me a letter to the paymaster at Velore, who was a very intimate friend of his, who, he was certain, would be of great service to me, and that he would give me an order on him to advance me whatever money I should want. He has likewise often bid me let him know if I wanted any money. Now I want to know your opinion, whether Haliburton or Ross is my best friend, and which of them I should most depend upon.

The next time I saw Ross, he said, that he thought I had better stay here sometime longer, till the ships sailed for England; that he then would have leisure to speak to the General, and that something, perhaps, might be done, but if I was disappointed there was no time lost; I would have enough to learn my exercise before I got a commission. I consented to stay for a few days longer, merely to please him, as I really have no expectations. The next time I saw Haliburton, he told me that he had been talking of me with the General, and that he was surprised to hear I had applied for leave to remain here. After he had heard my reasons—"Never mind," says he, "tell that old fellow that you cannot stay here any longer, and that all your friends advise you to go to Velore." I went and told Ross this. "I know who advises you to go to Velore; Mr. Haliburton; he is a

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very good young man, and does well enough in his own way, but he knows nothing of these affairs; he is a great Galligakus; he has not," says he, (taking one of his white locks in his hand,) "lived so long in the world as I have done; when he has, you may follow his advice." Another reason, however, has determined me to set off directly.

There is a Dr. Koenig lives with Mr. Ross; he is a native of Livonia, a disciple of the famous Linnæus, and a school-fellow of Dr. Solander's; after having travelled through most parts of Europe, he came out to India in search of natural curiosities; he has been over most part of the country, from the Ganges to the Indus, and from Delhi to Cape Comorin; he was put upon the list of Company's servants in the year 78, when he was sent by the Governor and Council to Siam, and the Straits of Malacca, in search of plants and minerals, from whence he is but lately returned. I suppose Ross told him what a learned man I was, for I had not seen him above once or twice when he began to talk with me of chymistry: he carried me to see his collection. I was with him almost every day, till one day he told me that he would take it as a favour if I would examine an English translation that he had made of the Latin descriptions of some of his plants; I altered most of the spelling, and, in many places, the arrangement of the words. He put a Greek book into my hands, from which he said it was easy to discern that the natron of the ancients was a different substance from the nitre of the moderns; the book did not give me much disturbance; but he talks Latin, Portuguese, and French,—his English is a mixture of all the three, which makes it very difficult to understand him. When he sees I am at a loss for any particular word, he gives me the Latin; if I still hesitate, he gives me the Greek, which is always an effectual method of making me understand. The other day, as usual, the Scots and English had a very warm engagement with the Swedes and Germans; it continued a long time doubtful, till the Doctor cried out, "Black! pray what has Black discovered? Fixed air, a pretty discovery! But can any body compare it to those of Becher, Stahl, Homberg, and Reitzius, who has discovered that the acid of sugar is stronger than aquafortis?" after which he repeated a Latin sentence, which totally silenced Black and all the rest of them; then he put two Latin letters into my hand, one from Linnæus, and the other from Reitzius, which he sent him with his book, which is written either in Danish or Swedish; he promised to send it over to-day

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for my perusal and opinion, which will be no easy matter, and even though I should succeed, I don't know but he may speak Chaldean to me the next time he sees me, so that I must set off for Velore as soon as I can. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and dutiful son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

P.S. Doctor Koenig has taken a house about six miles from this; he says, if I will come and stay with him, I shall have two rooms, and a palankeen always ready to carry me wherever I desire to go. I have declined accepting his offer, for some reasons which I have mentioned, and likewise because I don't choose to be obliged to any body for a thing of this kind, whilst I can live upon my pay. Koenig's principal design in going to Siam was to see the manner in which the Chinese reduce the tin ore; he has written an account of it, which he will send to Mr. Banks, along with several specimens of the ore: the Doctor thinks that this important discovery will be of great advantage to the British nation. I wrote all the descriptions which the Doctor sends to Banks, Solander, and Mr. Greville; after all, I don't think there is any thing in these important discoveries that was not before known in Europe; if there had, I would have written Dr. Irvine upon the subject. I hope Alexander has not gone to sea; he would be much better in Somervel and Gordons'. I hope their business goes on briskly. I never shall forget what I owe to them and Mr. Macrae; I never was so happy as whilst I was there; a merchant is his own master, he has not to comply with all the humours of men whom he despises.

TO HIS MOTHER.

[*Giving an account of his first arrival in India.*]

DEAR MADAM,

WHEN the ship anchored in the Roads, a number of the natives came on board. They were dressed in long white gowns; one of them, a grave, decent-looking man came up to me; he held a bundle of papers in his hand which he begged I would read; they were certificates from different people of his fidelity and industry. He said, that strangers on their arrival in India were often at a loss for many necessary articles, but that I need give myself no trouble, for if I would only give him money, he would purchase for me whatever I wanted; he would attend me as a servant, and would be content with such wages as I should think upon trial he deserved: I congratulated myself on having

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met with so respectable a person in the character of a servant. He said he would go on shore and get me another, for that no gentleman could do without two, and that he would at the same time carry my dirty linen to be washed; I had only a few changes clean; I gave him the rest.

Two days after, when I went on shore, I found my old man standing on the beach with half a dozen of porters to carry my baggage to Captain Henderson's house.—I went early to sleep, quite happy at being rid of my old shipmates the soldiers.

My servant entered the room while I was dressing next morning. He surveyed me, and then my bed, with amazement. The sea-chest, which occupied one half of the chamber, was open; he looked into it and shook his head. I asked the cause of his wonder. "Oh, Sir, this will never do; nobody in this country wears buff waistcoats and breeches, or thread stockings, nor sleeps upon mattresses; sheets and blankets are useless in this warm climate—you must get a table and chairs, and a new bed."

I was vexed to learn that all the clothes, of which I had taken so much care in the passage from Europe, were now to be of no service.

He inspected the contents of the chest. The whole was condemned, together with the bed-clothes, as unserviceable, except three or four changes of linen which were to serve me till a tailor should fit me out in a proper manner.

"It is customary with gentlemen," said the old man, "to make a present of all their European articles to their servants, but I will endeavour to dispose of yours to advantage: four guineas will buy a table and chairs, and cloth for the tailor, and as Captain Henderson is going to Bengal, you must get a couch of your own; it will not cost above two guineas." He went out with the six guineas, leaving me with an empty chest, and my head full of new cuts of sleeves and skirts, which the tailor was to make in a few days. But all my schemes were disconcerted by some unfortunate accident befalling my good friend with the credentials, for he never returned.

This unexpected blow prevented me from stirring out above twice or thrice in a week, for several months after. On these days I sallied forth in a clean suit, and visited all my friends. After Dr. Koenig came to live with Mr. Ross, I spent the greatest part of my time at his house, amusing myself with shells and flowers; but before that I employed it differently.

I rose early in the morning to review my clothes; after having determined whether skirt No. 3 or 4 was best, I worked at my

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needle till breakfast. When it was over I examined the cook's accounts, and gave orders about dinner; I generally read the rest of the day till the evening, when I mounted to the top of the house to observe the stars I had been reading of during the day in Ferguson's Astronomy. When I had finished this book, I diverted myself in a different manner in my evening walks. After considering the matter for several nights, I at last resolved that my country-house should be near Lochlomond, and that Erskine should be my housekeeper. I rose early in the morning to work in the garden, or if I was lazy, I read Justice, and gave the gardener directions. I then sent five or six messages for my sister to come down and make breakfast. After making an apology for disturbing her repose, I went to fish in the Loch, or in the stream that winded through my garden and woods, or to read a book under a tree in some retired walk. But when I was called down to supper, I did not see any thing of the plenty of my country-house.

While I remained in Madras, my pay as a Cadet was eight pagodas a month; of this I gave two to a servant called a Dubash, one to the cook, and one to the washerman: the remaining four were to answer every expense in a place were every thing is sold at the highest price.

With all my economy, it was near six months before I could save money enough to buy me a few suits of linen. I did not choose then to ask any of Mr. R., and Mr. H. did not seem disposed to give me any assistance till I should leave Madras; but Mr. R., wishing to get me appointed to join the detachment under Colonel Baillie, I continued in Madras, making application for this purpose, till Hyder entered the Carnatic, when I joined the army in the field. From the great expense of servants, I did not find my situation bettered by the change, till Mr. G. got me appointed a Quarter-master; before that time, I found it difficult to keep myself clear from debt. I was once obliged to borrow thirty or forty pagodas from Mr. Ross, which I repaid two or three months afterwards. Mr. G. is in Bengal with Sir Eyre Coote; he told me before he went away, that he hoped he should see Alexander there; I am pretty sure that he will serve him if he remains long in the country; he has been talking for some time of going home.

I have already told you, in a former letter, in what situation I found Alexander on his arrival at Madras. Till then I never repined at my poverty, when I saw myself unable to give him the

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assistance I wished. I could only spare him a few shirts, and could hardly have done that had I not just then received the first month's pay of my late appointment; for we were then six months in arrears. I believe he is sensible himself that I did what I could. I desired him to take what he wanted from Mr. Ross and I would repay him. He was more prudent than I expected. He was rather too moderate in his demands. I could see him but seldom, as the army then lay about twelve miles from Madras, and marched up the country a few days after his arrival; he sailed for Bengal before I returned. Mr. Ross told me that he had given him money but sparingly, as he had observed the openness and thoughtlessness of his disposition, and that he thought it best to accustom him to struggle with little difficulties of that kind;—that he had recommended him to Mr. Ferguson in Bengal, whom he knew for a man that would leave nothing untried to promote his interest as far as he found him deserving.

I imagine that Mr. R. did not discover Alexander's disposition so much from his behaviour, as from a conversation he had had with me, sometime before, concerning him; he, however, takes all the merit to himself, and he desires Mr. F. in his letter, "to point out to the young man the propriety of his perfecting himself as soon as possible in some of the most necessary branches of education in which he was deficient, either through negligence, or having left school at so early a period." I do not remember the words, but that is the substance.

Such is a general outline of the mode in which Mr. Munro spent his leisure time at the Presidency. His sojourn there comprehended a space of little more than six months, during which he did duty with the rest of the Cadets, and applied to the study of the native languages; but a wider field was already before him on which to exercise his talents; and into that, as soon as circumstances permitted, he made haste to enter.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the annals of British sovereignty in the East offer no parallel to the critical situation of affairs during the spring and summer of 1780. Hyder Ally, one of the most absolute monarchs and consummate generals of his age, disgusted with the poli-

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tical tergiversations of the English, had for some time previously linked his fortunes with their rivals, and now threatened, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, in which was numbered a corps of Europeans under Monsieur Lally, to carry fire and sword into the Carnatic. The members of the Madras government, in the mean while, at variance among themselves, took no steps whatever to meet the threatened danger, but wasted, in mean and mischievous cabals, time which ought to have been employed to widely different purposes. Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Governor, and Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-chief, applied the whole powers of their mind to maintain a superiority over the other members of the council, who, on their part, thought a great deal more of thwarting the designs of these functionaries, than of providing for the safety of the colony. It is true, that Pondicherry was taken; that the fall of Mahé, by depriving the French of their last harbour, had annihilated the independent power of that nation on the Continent; and that the strongholds of Velore, Arcot, and Wandiwash, were all occupied by British garrisons: but these posts were too far removed the one from the other, to permit any intimate communication between them, in the event of an enemy obtaining even a temporary superiority in the field. In like manner, the Madras army was so distributed, as to render it to all intents and purposes inefficient. One detachment, originally commanded by Colonel Harpur, and now under the orders of Colonel Baillie, was beyond the Kistna, at a remote distance from head-quarters: the remainder were scattered in petty garrisons, over a wide extent of country; whilst the treasury, which ought to have been well supplied, was found in so miserable a plight, that funds for raising recruits were wanting. Yet could the men, whose duty it was to provide against emergencies, continue to write and act as if none such were near, though warned, so early as November 1779, that the Nizam had joined the confederacy against them, and that the expulsion of the English from India was determined on.

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It were out of place, in a work like the present, to enter into a detailed or critical examination of the mode in which affairs were managed at that juncture. It is sufficient to observe, that so late as the month of June, 1780, long after Hyder had completed his preparations, no measures were adopted by the Madras government, having a reference to war; and that then the only order issued was for Colonel Baillie to cross the Kistna, that he might be more in readiness "in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic." The same supineness prevailed up to the 19th of that month, when intelligence was received from the officer in command at Velore, that Hyder had begun his march from Seringapatam, and that a formidable force was collected at Bangalore. Then, indeed, the alarm seems to have been taken: but it was not till nearly another precious month had been wasted, —till Arcot was besieged, and "black columns of smoke were every where in view from St. Thomas's Mount," that any serious efforts were made to draw an army together. Nor is this all:—every one acquainted with Indian history must be aware of the extreme infatuation which guided the councils of our countrymen even then. Instead of making choice of some centrical situation within easy march of the capital, where the scattered detachments from all quarters might assemble, Conjeveram, a place forty miles in advance, was selected as the point d'appui; and thither Colonel Baillie was directed to proceed, by a route which carried him full fifty miles through a country every where hostile. The following letter from Mr. Munro to his father, gives a connected narrative of the operation which followed, whilst it evinces how perfectly habits of sound and accurate reasoning were natural, if I may so speak, to the writer.

Camp near Marmelong, 11th October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I MENTIONED to you in my last how my acquaintance with Mr. Ross began. By his advice, I remained at Madras till the end of July, when intelligence being received that three thousand Mysore horse had burnt Porto Novo, and that Tippoo Saheb,

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Hyder's eldest son, with a large body under his command, was laying waste the country, a camp was formed at Mount St. Thomas, nine miles from Madras.

In the last treaty between Hyder and the Company, it was stipulated, that in case his dominions were attacked by any foreign enemy, they should furnish him with seven battalions of sepoys. A few years ago, when his country was invaded by the Mahrattas, they did not send a man to his assistance. As he was then unable to express his resentment, he resolved to conceal it till a more convenient time.

Seeing the Company engaged in a tedious war with the same people against whom they had formerly refused to assist him, (the Mahrattas,) he entered the Carnatic in July last, at the head of a powerful army, determined to avenge the insults he had suffered.

The government here being at length convinced, by the burning of the villages around, and the country people daily flocking in multitudes to Madras, that Hyder had passed the mountains, they prepared to oppose him. General Munro was ordered to take the command of the army, and, at the same time, instructions were sent to the northward to Colonel Baillie, to march with his detachment and join the main body.

On the 25th of August Munro took the field at the head of fourteen hundred Europeans and three thousand sepoys, with thirty-two field-pieces, and on the 29th he arrived at Conjeveram.

Hyder, on the first intelligence of his march, raised the siege of Arcot, and threw himself between the two armies. He took post about four miles in front of Munro's camp.

Baillie had advanced within fourteen miles of the main army, when, on the 6th of September, he was attacked by ten thousand men, the flower of the enemy's forces, whom he forced to retreat, leaving six hundred dead on the spot.

On the 8th, the grenadier and light infantry companies of Macleod's regiment, two hundred Europeans, and nine hundred sepoy grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, were ordered to join Baillie, which they effected next morning.

The General, having intelligence that Hyder intended marching two hours after sunset, and that Baillie would advance about the same hour, ordered the tents to be struck, and to be sent along with the baggage into Conjeveram Pagoda. Next morning he went to meet the detachment. He had arrived at the

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side of a lake, where he was making a road for the guns, when a sepoy, all covered with wounds, brought advice of its defeat.

Baillie had marched at twelve o'clock at night:—three hours after, his advanced guard was attacked by the enemy's European infantry, who were placed in a grove upon the side of the road; and, at the same time, the horse rushed on to the charge. He repulsed them in every attack, and they had already begun to despair of success, when three of his tumbrils blowing up, in the midst of the confusion produced by the accident, his ammunition being expended, they made another furious charge, broke his ranks, and cut them in pieces; nor did they cease after the few who still survived had thrown down their arms.—Colonel Fletcher, holding up his handkerchief on the point of his sword, as a signal for quarter, was wounded in the arm; and, wrapping the handkerchief round it, he received a cut across the belly—his bowels dropped out, and he fell dead from his horse.

The slaughter continued, till Mr. Lally rode up to Hyder, and told him that it was not the custom of Europeans to cut their enemies to pieces after they had surrendered themselves; and that such inhumanity would be highly resented by the Frenchmen under his command. Upon this the Mysorean ordered his soldiers to cease. Two hundred and fifty Europeans and a thousand sepoys were all that remained; the rest, to the amount of two thousand, fell on the field of battle.

Hyder paid dear for his victory,—many of his best officers, and seven thousand of his bravest troops, were slain.

General Munro, as soon as he learned this event, retreated to Conjeveram, and next morning, before daybreak, he continued his march to Chingleput, where he arrived the following day. In the hurry of the retreat, the greatest part of the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. By mistake, Lord Macleod was not awaked till two hours after the army had marched; his baggage, with his bureau and all his papers, were taken. Among them was a plan for the reduction of Hyder's dominions.

The army was quite exhausted on its arrival at Chingleput. Above two hundred Highlanders dropped down from the fatigue of a long march of thirty miles in a sultry day, rendered still more intolerable by the heat and smoke of the villages to which the enemy had set fire, and through which we were obliged to pass. On the 13th, at sunset, we pursued our way to the Mount, where we arrived next day, after marching thirty-six miles without any refreshment.

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The Chingleput hills and the groves which bordered the road protected us from the Ludiwals, a species of irregular horsemen, who, instead of receiving money from Hyder, pay him so much monthly for being permitted to plunder the territories of his enemies: multitudes of them always follow our armies, to cut off our baggage, and set fire to the villages which lie in our way, but they seldom come within reach of our guns.

15th. We marched to Marmelong, a village six miles from Madras, where we now remain encamped, in expectation of assistance from Bengal to enable us to take the field in the beginning of the year; and, if they arrive before the middle of the month, to make a second attempt to raise the siege of Arcot.

The loss of Colonel Baillie's army is the severest blow the English ever sustained in India. Some persons pretend to vindicate Munro, but by far the greater part impute to his imprudent conduct the destruction of the detachment. Why, say they, did he linger so long within a few miles of Baillie, without attempting to join him? Why, instead of sending the grenadiers, did he not go with the whole army? And why, when he saw Hyder march, did he not follow him instantly, in place of waiting till the morning? On the other hand, it is said, that it was reasonable for him to conjecture, that as Baillie had been able, without any assistance, to repulse the enemy, he would be still more able to do so again, after being so powerfully reinforced; and that by sending a detachment, had it succeeded, he would have lost less time than by going with the whole army.

It is said, that * * * * * * * suggested the design of dividing the army, contrary to the opinion of Lord Macleod and all the old officers; as he was afraid, that when Baillie joined, the command of the grenadiers would be taken from him and given to that officer, which he thought would not be done after he had commanded them in an action.

The General, by paying his spies too sparingly, received very little, and often false, intelligence; he neither rewarded those who told the truth, nor did he punish those who deceived him. One day, upon the march, a Hircarrah came up, and delivered him a letter from Colonel Baillie; he read it; he seemed pleased with the contents; and he ordered his Dubash to give the messenger two pagodas (sixteen shillings);—the man smiled,—it was a poor reward for having received two wounds, and risked his life in bringing him intelligence.

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On our way to join the detachment, three men, who were found sitting near the road, were brought to the General:—he told them, if they would carry him to Baillie, he would reward them; but if they should misguide him, he would instantly put them to death. They walked at the head of the army, with halters about their necks; and they conducted us to the side of a lake, where the road terminated. The General followed them, notwithstanding it was obvious to every one that they were carrying us away from the scene of action, as we heard the firing, and saw the smoke of the cannon near four miles distant, in a different direction. These men were suffered to escape.

Lord Macleod wrote to Hyder, desiring to know which of his officers, and how many of his men, were prisoners; and also that he would order his bureau to be restored, there being some papers in it which could be of no consequence to any person but himself.

Hyder wrote him in return, but took no notice of either the officers or men. He only mentioned that Baillie was his prisoner; that Fletcher was killed; and that as to the bureau, had he commanded a small army, it might have been recovered: but where he was at the head of a hundred thousand horse, such things as these could never come to his knowledge: he concluded with saying, that it was well for us we had made such speed, for had he come up with us, he would have cut us to pieces.

You may think I might have saved myself a great deal of labour, in making such a long dissertation on matters which you may think of very little importance; the only excuse I have to make is, that by continually talking on the same subject with every person, my head is so filled with it, that I can think of nothing else. There are just now six or seven fellows in the tent, very gravely disputing whether Hyder is, or is not, the person commonly called in Europe the Great Mogul.

The next letter is to his mother; and as it carries on the detail of events in their natural order, I subjoin it without any observations of my own.

DEAR MOTHER,

AFTER the defeat of Colonel Baillie's army, Hyder returned to the siege of Arcot; he took the pettah by storm on the 1st of November, and the fort surrendered four hours after. Captain Pendergrass commanded; but being disabled by a wound towards the end of the siege, he was succeeded by Captain

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Du Pont, who delivered up the place. He says he was forced to it by the Nabob's people refusing to fight. But Nanjif Chan, the Nabob's resident, told Sir Eyre Coote, that the people under his command gave every assistance in their power, and would have continued to do so, had the siege lasted longer; that he set before the commandant the disgrace he would bring upon the Company's arms, by surrendering without necessity a place to which the richest inhabitants of the Carnatic, with their most precious effects, had fled for protection; that every consideration ought to induce him to hold out to extremity—the approaching rains, and the probability of being relieved by the army;—but his remonstrances were disregarded, and Arcot, with its grand magazine of military stores, was abandoned to the enemy.

Though the pettah was taken by storm, Hyder treated the inhabitants with humanity: he permitted no plundering. Every man was continued in the enjoyment of his fortune; and all who had held places under the Nabob, retained them under him. He gave the English officers money; and he presented one of them with three beautiful horses, and a purse of one thousand rupees.

Sir E. Coote, with half a battalion of Europeans, arrived in the beginning of the month from Bengal,—the remainder, with the artillery, are daily expected. Six thousand sepoys are on their march overland. The army went into cantonments on the 15th: our battalion, which belongs to the left, is quartered at St. Thome, a large village, situated on the sea-shore, four miles below Madras. When the Portuguese were powerful in India, it was a place of considerable consequence; no traces of its former masters now remain, but five or six desolate churches, and the old ensign-staff "nodding o'er the beach." The inhabitants consist chiefly of a mixed race, descended from the ancient Portuguese, and a few of the meanest of the natives, converts to Christianity: they are directed by a bishop and two priests, who are exceedingly zealous in their labours; but the land is barren. I was appointed an ensign in October; date of rank, 20th May, 1779.

Your affectionate son,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

St. Thome, 26th Nov. 1780.

From the date of this letter, up to the 15th of December following, the battalion to which Mr. Munro was attached (the 16th Madras Native Infantry) continued to occupy its cantonment in St. Thome. The arrival of Sir Eyre Coote,

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however, infused new vigour into the government, which made great exertions to collect the means of transport for a fresh campaign; and though these came not up, and could not possibly come up to the ordinary standard of efficiency, no time was lost in turning them to account.

The following journal, transmitted by Mr. Munro to his father, and dated from the Camp at St. Thomas's Mount, 2d October, 1782, gives a description so vivid of the operations which followed, that I am induced to insert it entire. It was written chiefly by night, when, to use the words of the writer, "I was almost as much plagued by swarms of troublesome insects flying about the candle, and getting into my hair and eyes, and under my shirt-collar, as I would have been by the enemy." Yet long as it is, and illustrative of so many and such complicated details, the original copy presents scarcely a single mark of obliteration :—

DEAR SIR,

In your letter of May 1781, you desire me to give you some account of our wars here. I certainly would have prevented your request, had I imagined that, while you are so deeply interested in the fate of America, you could have paid any attention to the disputes in India:—besides, I had not forgotten what wrong notions people at home entertain of Hyder. I did not dare to mention things as they really were, lest you should have said that we made a great deal of noise about routing a parcel of blackamoors. As a politician and a soldier, it would be doing Hyder injustice to look upon him in the same light as other Eastern princes; his army is not only formidable by their numbers, but by the bravery of the adventurers that crowded to his standard from every corner of India, on the fame of his intended invasion, as well as by a great body of infantry disciplined by Europeans, accompanied by an excellent train of artillery.

The newspapers say that a Committee of the House of Commons is appointed to inquire into the causes of Hyder Ally's irruption, and the extent of that calamity. It has extended so far, that there is not a human being to be seen in the country,—the only inhabitants are the garrisons of the forts, and the British and Mysorean armies.

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After General Munro's retreat from Conjeveram, Hyder's first care was to drive away all the cattle, and to lay waste the country; in which he succeeded so well, that the want of carriage-bullocks has ever since been one of the chief obstacles to all our operations. As most of the forts were at this time garrisoned by the Nabob's troops, and he had long before gained the commandants, they surrendered at the first summons; but, what was of more consequence than all the rest, Arcot capitulated on the 2d of November, and was followed by the submission of Bom Rauze, and many lesser poligars, who joined his army with all their dependents. As they were unskilled in war, they were of little service in the field; but their country made ample amends, by supplying his troops with all kinds of provisions.

Had Arcot been defended with spirit, it might have held out till the army could have marched to its relief. It was garrisoned by a hundred and fifty Europeans, besides sepoys. Two breaches were made in the pettah wall, and both stormed; but so faintly, that it ought rather to have encouraged the garrison to perseverance, than terrified them into surrender.

The loss of the capital made a great impression on all the country powers; for, though the defeat of Colonel Baillie had convinced them how formidable he was in the field, they had hitherto held in the utmost contempt his capacity for conducting a siege.

After the fall of Arcot, Hyder, with the main body of his army, sat down before Vellore, whilst detachments invested Wandiwash and Permacoil.

It was at this time that Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Benga the force he brought with him consisted of four hundred European infantry, and two companies of artillery. The army, which since the retreat from Conjeveram, had been encamped in a strong situation at Marmelong, a village about six miles from Madras, was permitted to go into cantonments in the middle of November, after having been exposed to the most violent and continued rains for fifteen days, and when the face of the country was so much covered with water, that they could no longer be regularly supplied.

The troops marched out of cantonments, and encamped at the Mount, the 15th of December. Small partics of horse that continually hovered round the camp, drove away all the cattle that strayed beyond the outposts; so that when we marched on the 16th of January to the relief of Wandiwash, it was with the

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greatest difficulty that a sufficient number could be collected to carry the grain and military stores necessary for the expedition.

The army, when it marched from the Mount, was composed of one thousand four hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoys, and eight hundred black cavalry, attended by a train of sixty pieces of cannon.

General Coote halted on the 18th, on the south bank of the Palaur, four miles from Chingleput.

On the night of the 19th, Captain Davis was detached with three battalions of sepoys to surprise Carrangoly, a fort ten miles distant. By some unforeseen delay, he did not get there till after sunrise; but this did not make him lay aside his design. Leaving a battalion in the rear as a reserve, and placing some parties to fire against the parapet, he with the rest advanced directly towards the gate. A wet ditch had been carried round the place, except where a causeway was left opposite to the entrance. Over this Captain Davis brought two guns, with which he burst open the outer gate, and advanced immediately through a passage with many windings to the second. Though confined in a small space, and exposed to a shower of musketry on every side from the works above, the artillerymen proceeded coolly in their work, and with the second shot made a large breach. The first party that entered was fired on by a party headed by the Killidaur, who then threw down their arms, and received quarter; but by far the greater part escaped by the opposite side of the fort, where there was little water in the ditch. The garrison amounted to one thousand two hundred men; but only three hundred, with the Killidaur, were made prisoners.

Four officers of the detachment were wounded. Ten artillerymen out of twelve, and eighty sepoys were killed or wounded.

Nothing of consequence was found here, except a considerable quantity of grain.

This place, which, while in the possession of the English, had been overgrown with weeds, was now in a tolerable state of defence: the ruinous parts of the walls were repaired, and a new parapet carried round the rampart.

The army arrived at Wandiwash on the 24th of January: the siege was raised the day before. The enemy's force amounted to twelve thousand horse, and four thousand foot.

Mheer Saheb, who commanded them, moved about fifteen miles, and then halted to observe our motions; which he continued ever after to do, without once quitting us, till the day of his death.

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He invested this place in the beginning of December, and the latter end of the same month opened a battery of four twenty-four pounders, within three hundred yards of the wall. The fire of the fort was so much better directed, that after ten days he had done little more than demolish part of the parapet, which the garrison soon supplied with a stronger one of gabions and the trunks of Palmyra-trees. The walls, like those of most of the forts of this country, were built of so hard a species of stone, that it was a considerable time before the shot made any impression.

A party from the garrison, under the command of a black officer, sallied on the 10th of January, surprised the battery, and spiked the guns so completely, that they could never afterwards be used. Upon this, another approach was carried on to the edge of the ditch, where a four-gun battery was raised, which was to have been opened the day the army arrived.

The garrison was composed of a hundred of the Company's sepoys, and near double that number of the Nabob's. Lieutenant Flint, who commanded, was much admired for his activity and the judgment he had shown in the defence; and he deserved as much praise for what he intended to have done, as for what he really performed. He cut off an angle of the fort, which was more elevated than the rest; he mounted guns upon it, and laid in a stock of water and provisions, so that had he been obliged to abandon the body of the place, he was to have retired to this post, and to have defended it some days longer.

It was here that the General received information of Hyder's having raised the siege of Vellore. The Mysorean army, which encamped before it on the 14th of December, was commanded by Mahomed Ally: Hyder himself remained at Arcot.

Vellore is situated at the entrance of the Amboor valley, which leads to one of the principal passes into Mysore, and all convoys coming this way must pass in sight of it; for which reason, a strong guard was always requisite to prevent their being intercepted by the garrison. It was chiefly the dread of this that determined Hyder to attack it. The force that Colonel Lang had to defend it with was two hundred and fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoys, besides a rabble of one thousand two hundred Nabob's troops, and poligars.

The fortifications were built by the Mahrattas more than two hundred years ago. The walls were formed of the same hard stone which had been used at Wandiwash. The stones were three or four feet thick, and eighteen or twenty long, and were

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placed end-ways. The ditch which surrounded it was two hundred feet broad, and fifteen or twenty deep. Two miles to the right of the fort were three fortified hills. A six-pounder from the nearest threw a shot three hundred yards over the opposite rampart. It was against this that the enemy directed their attack. They began their approaches near a mile from the foot of the wall. Nothing but their numbers could ever have accomplished a work of such amazing labour: the soil on the hills was so thin that they could not make trenches, but were obliged to advance under cover of a wall of gabions, and to fill them they had to bring earth from the plain below. They met many large fragments of rocks in their way. They undermined some, and rolled them down the hill; and those they could not manage they avoided by making a sweep round them. In three weeks they had got the better of all these obstacles, and raised a battery, which in a few days demolished one of the angles of the fort. They at the same time raised another on an eminence which overlooked the place; and the garrison, having only a few small guns, could neither return their fire, nor show themselves in the daytime. They laboured hard during the night in cutting off the ruined angle, by a deep trench with a breastwork behind it. On the night of the 10th of January, the enemy, headed by Mahomed Ally in person, made two attacks, and in both were repulsed with great loss.

It was surprising that Hyder, after raising the siege of Vellore, did not hasten to engage the English army before it was reinforced. Had he been so inclined, he had time enough to have overtaken it, as it lay three days at Wandiwash. Perhaps the high military character of General Coote made him doubtful of success.

On the 28th we were on the road to Pondicherry, when the General was informed by an express, that a French fleet had appeared off Madras. It was necessary that the army should be at hand to oppose their landing any troops. Carrangooly was thought the most proper place, being half-way between Pondicherry and Madras. The General encamped there two days after, and remained till he received advice that the fleet was gone to the southward, and that it had no land forces on board; he then continued his march to Pondicherry, where he arrived in the beginning of February, and found the French at anchor in the roads.

On the 6th, in the morning, he went to see some artillery

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destroyed, which had been left here ever since the siege of 1778. He was not gone above half an hour, when Hyder's army appeared in sight of the camp, marching towards Cuddalore. He returned instantly, and detached two battalions to secure the passage of the Ariancopang river; but as three battalions, and the greater part of the followers and cattle were in town, it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the army marched. The two armies took different roads, which ran in the same direction, at the distance of a mile from one another. The enemy kept up a constant cannonade the whole night; but to very little purpose, for they either fired too high, or so low that the shot sank into the rice-fields which lay between the two roads. General Coote reached Cuddalore at break of day, with the loss of an officer and twenty men.

It seems to have been Hyder's intention, by this rapid march, to have gained possession of the bound-hedge, where the English army must either have fought him under every disadvantage, or abandoned the place to his mercy. After the General had prevented the execution of this scheme, he found himself involved in the greatest distress from the want of provisions; for all that had been brought from Madras were now consumed, and the whole that could be collected in Cuddalore could not serve more than two days. But he was soon relieved from his anxiety on this account, for Hyder not choosing to comply with the demands of the French for money, they sailed from the coast the following day, and left the navigation open to Madras, from whence supplies were immediately sent to camp.

On the 8th of February, the day after the departure of the squadron, General Coote drew up in front of the bound-hedge, and offered Hyder battle, which he very properly declined, as the position of the English army was so strong that it did not afford him the smallest hope of success. He therefore continued his march to the southward, whilst the English returned to their encampments within the bound-hedge.

During the five months that the army remained at Cuddalore, they received rice from Madras, but were obliged to find beef and mutton the best way they could. This was attended with much labour, the enemy having swept away all the flocks and herds, except a few that ran wild in the woods. The little excursions in quest of them were the most fatiguing duties of the campaign. Sepoys only were sent upon them. The detachment was usually

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composed of three or four battalions, which set out from camp an hour or two after sunset; they marched all night, and reached their destination by noon the day following. After having collected what cattle they could find, and halted an hour or two to refresh themselves, they hastened back to camp, where they arrived next morning, fatigued beyond any thing that can be conceived, except by those who have felt it. Mheer Saheb, with the army of observation, lay at Trividi, a village fifteen miles west of Cuddalore, from whence he detached small bodies of horse on every side to hinder any supplies from the country passing to the English camp. Parties were frequently sent to surprise them, and most commonly, when there was any prospect of success, commanded by Colonel ——. Yet, notwithstanding this advantage, he was seldom so fortunate in his expeditions as might have been expected. I shall only mention one instance, which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

One morning, a little before day, he came so suddenly upon one of the advanced sentries belonging to a party of horse, that the fellows immediately rode off across the country, without having recollection enough to alarm their comrades. The Colonel continued to advance till he got so near the main body, that he could see that all was quiet, except a few that were sitting smoking round some little fires they had kindled. Here he halted, and sent to the rear for the guns; and whilst they were coming, he drew up the troops, as well as the darkness and the ground would admit, with about one-third of them above the knees in mud. The guns came up, and began a heavy fire both of round and grape. When it had continued ten minutes, the line advanced to take advantage of the confusion into which it was not doubted the enemy must be thrown by such a battery; but they did not think that it would be convenient to stay to judge of the effect of the fire; and the Colonel, entering their camp by storm, found nothing but a few horses sick, which the enemy, in their retreat, were obliged to abandon to his fury. The Colonel was not more successful in any of his other expeditions. He failed by not adhering to his original plan of attack, and by substituting a worse in the moment of decision.

Whilst General Coote carried on this petty war about Cuddalore, Hyder made himself master of Ambore and Thiagur, in the Carnatic; and of all Tanjore but the capital. We must, however, suppose we had good reasons for remaining there. If it was

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not the smallness of his force, it might have been with a view to keep Hyder to the southward, and to draw his attention from the reinforcement which was then coming from Bengal.

The General moved in the end of May to raise the siege of Thiagur. He reached Trividi the 1st of March, from whence Mheer Saheb retreated on his appearance: here he halted two days, and then returned to his old camp at Cuddalore. I cannot account for this conduct, unless by supposing that from Baillie's defeat he conceived too high an opinion of Hyder's army, and relied too little on his own, or that he did not think the place of sufficient consequence to risk a general engagement to prevent its fall, and that he only moved to divert the enemy and protract the siege.

The Bengal troops having by this time entered the Carnatic, the General, to hinder Hyder from striking any blow against them, marched to the southward on the 16th June, and two days after arrived at Chilambrum, a fortified pagoda, thirty miles south-west of Cuddalore. Adjoining to the pagoda there is a large pettah, surrounded by a mud wall: the garrison were between two and three thousand poligars. In the evening the General sent three battalions to attack the pettah: the enemy after a scattered fire, ran to shelter themselves in the pagoda. By some mistake, without orders, the foremost battalion pursued them to the gates; which finding shut, they brought up a twelve-pounder against them. The second shot burst open the outer gate. The sponge staff was fired out of the gun in the hurry, and the man who carried the match was not to be found. In this exigency, Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, with great recollection, loaded and discharged twice, by the help of a musket, and made a breach in the second gate large enough to allow one man to go through at a time. The sepoys rushed in: the space between the two inner gates was in a moment full of them: they did not observe, midway between the two, a flight of steps which led to the rampart. The garrison, every moment dreading the assault, called for quarter, but their voice was not to be distinguished in the general tumult which now ensued; for, some straw having taken fire, caught the clothes of the sepoys, who were crowded between the gateways, and every one pressing back to avoid suffocation and the fire of the enemy, (which was now redoubled at the sight of their disaster,) many of them were scorched and burned to death, and those who escaped hurried away without attempting to bring off the twelve-pounder. Six officers and

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nearly one hundred and fifty men were killed and wounded in this unfortunate affair. The General, who was in the pettah at the time, ordered some pieces of cannon to batter the wall. A fine brass eighteen-pounder was ruined without making any breach; and day beginning to dawn, the troops returned to camp. All thoughts were now relinquished of taking the place by assault; and there being no battering-guns with the army, it was resolved to send for them to Cuddalore; and, after taking the rice out of the pettah, to proceed to Porto Novo to cover their landing. We marched to this place on the 22d, and the same day Mheer Saheb encamped five miles to the westward of it.

Sir Edward Hughes arrived on the 24th with the battering train; and whilst rafts were preparing to carry it up the river to Chilambrum, our attention was called to an object of much greater consequence; for, at daybreak on the 28th, the sound of the reveille was heard in front of the camp, and the rising of the sun discovered to our view the plain for several miles covered with the tents of the Mysorean army. Hyder was preparing to besiege Trichinopoly, when the commandant of Chilambrum advised him of his having repulsed the English, and that they had retreated to Porto Novo. The time he had so long wished for he imagined was now come, when he might, in one day, destroy the only army that remained to oppose him. His expedition showed his confidence of success—he marched seventy miles in two days, and encamped at Mootypollam, four miles from Porto Novo. His troops were no less sanguine than himself. Some came near enough to the grand guard to warn them of the fate that awaited them so soon as they should come forth to the plain. They bid the foragers, who kept out of reach of the English sentries, not fear them, but go wherever they could find the greatest plenty, for that they would not dare to touch them when they themselves were in the power of Hyder. This language afforded little comfort to the desponding part of our army, who, when they beheld the great extent of the Mysorean camp, and the numerous bodies of horse and foot that moved about it, could not avoid thinking Hyder as formidable as he was represented by those who had escaped from Perimbacum, and entertaining the strongest apprehensions of the event of the approaching engagement; but those who considered our artillery, served by men whom Mr. Bellecombe had pronounced superior to every thing he had seen in Europe, the perfect discipline of the troops, and their confidence in their commander, regarded Hyder offering

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battle as the most fortunate circumstance that could have happened.

A little after daybreak, on the first of July, the General drew up the army in a large plain which lay between the two camps. On his right was a chain of sand-hills which ran along the coast, at the distance of about a mile from the sea in the rear; and on the left, woods and enclosures, but with an open space between; two miles to the left ran another chain of sand-hills, parallel to the former, and behind them lay the principal part of the Mysorean army. At eight o'clock the enemy opened eight guns, in two batteries which they had raised among the sand-banks; but they were too distant to do much execution. The General, having reconnoitred their situation, saw that it was their wish that he should advance across the plain, under the fire of the batteries they had constructed on every side, that their cavalry might be able to take advantage of the impression: he therefore made no change in his disposition, but kept his ground, offering them battle till eleven o'clock, when, finding they did not choose to make the attack, he moved to the rear of the sand-hills on his right. The army marched in two lines, the first commanded by General Munro, the second by General Stuart. In the first were all the European infantry, with six battalions of sepoys equally divided on the flanks; in the second, four battalions of sepoys. One-half of the cavalry formed on the right of the first; the other half, on the left of the second line. The baggage, guarded by a regiment of horse and a battalion of sepoys, remained on the beach near Porto Novo. The army, after marching a mile between the sand-banks and the sea-shore, again defiled by an opening into the plain, where the enemy's infantry and artillery were drawn up waiting our coming; but their horse still remained behind the sand-hills. In an hour the whole of the first line got into the plain, where they formed under the fire of forty pieces of cannon. Not a shot was returned; the guns were not even unlimbered; but every thing remained as if the army had been to continue its march. The enemy, encouraged by this, which they attributed to an intention of escaping, brought their artillery nearer; every shot now took effect. The General rode along the front, encouraging every one to patience, and reserve their fire till they were ordered to part with it. He only waited accounts from the second line. An aid-de-camp from General Stuart told him that he had taken possession of the sand-hills; he immediately gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. The artillerymen,

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who had been so long restrained, now exerted themselves. Their fire was so heavy, that nothing could stand before it. The Mysorean infantry only stayed to give one discharge; the drivers hurried away the cannon, while the horse attempted to charge; but they were always broken before they reached the line. In a quarter of an hour the whole were dispersed.

Whilst the first line were engaged with Hyder, the second was attacked by Tippoo and Lally, who were repulsed by General Stuart in all their attacks to drive him from the sand-hills; and when Hyder fled, they followed him. A deep water-course saved the enemy from pursuit, for we were six hours in crossing it, which they, from the number and goodness of their cattle, had done in one. Our army was seven thousand five hundred fighting men. The force of the enemy has been variously estimated. A Portuguese captain, who deserted to us during the action, and who pretended to have seen the returns, made it amount to three hundred or four hundred (I do not remember which; it makes little difference,) thousand men that could fight. However it may be, it is certain that their numbers were such that the most exact dicipline never could have brought the whole into action.

I am sure you will be tired before you get to the end of this long story; but I have been particular, because it was this action that first gave a turn to our affairs in the Carnatic, and because it was considered at the time as the most critical battle that had been for a long time fought in India; for what could be a more serious matter, than to engage an enemy so superior in numbers, whose great strength in horse enabled him to take every advantage, and when there was no alternative between victory and entire ruin? Had we been once broken, it would have been impossible ever to have rallied when surrounded by such a multitude of cavalry. It was known afterwards, that when the action began, Hyder issued an order to take no prisoners.

The army halted a few days at Cuddalore, and then went to the northward to meet the Bengal detachment, which it joined without any interruption, in the beginning of August, near Pulicat. This detachment amounted, when it left Bengal, to five thousand men; but was now reduced by sickness and desertion to little more than two thousand: it was commanded by Colonel Peirce.

After this junction, we laid siege to Tripassore, a small fort thirty miles north-west from Madras: it had a strong garrison, but only four old guns on the works: and in two days, a breach

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being made, it surrendered. Scarce had the party, sent to take possession, got within the walls, when the Mysorean army came in sight, hastening to raise the siege.

The English colours, and a few shot, convinced Hyder that he was too late: he turned back immediately, and encamped at Pereimballcum. It was said, and I believe with foundation, that he sent a challenge to General Coote, to meet him on the same ground where he had cut off Colonel Baillie, where, as well from the natural strength of the situation, as from the superstitious notions of his people about fortunate places, he knew that, if ever he was to be successful, it must be there. Coote, always fond of fighting when there was a prospect of victory, marched on the 27th to attack him.

The advance-guard, marching along the avenue which leads to Conjeveram, received a discharge from four eighteen-pounders, placed in a grove to the left of the road: it was immediately ordered to halt, till the line should come up and form. While this was doing, the General rode out to view the position of the enemy, and found that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages which they had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses;—their artillery fired from embrasures, cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of their army lay behind them.

The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued with little intermission till sunset; for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought without much time and labour over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches, and behind the banks. They were forced from them all before sunset; and after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram. More than six thousand of them were killed or wounded. Our loss was about five hundred men. General Stuart and Colonel Brown lost each of them a leg by the same cannon-ball, as they were talking together in the beginning of the engagement; the Colonel died a few hours after; but the General recovered, and is now in the field. It is doubted by many, whether we have derived any advantage from this battle: they say, that where every thing is to be lost by a defeat, and little gained by a victory, an engagement ought not to be hazard-

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ed, except some essential point is to be accomplished. That, in the present instance, this was not the case; that the strength of the enemy's situation made victory uncertain; and that though they were totally defeated, the want of provisions prevented us from pursuing our success; and that the General, by attacking them in front, instead of turning their left flank, a little beyond which the ground was clear, showed little knowledge of the country.

Others again say, that as we cannot follow Hyder all over the Carnatic, we ought to fight him wherever there is an opportunity; that he had collected his whole force, and waited for us on the same spot where he had defeated Colonel Baillie; and that if we could drive him from his ground, where his army thought itself invincible, he never would again dare to face us.

The army returned to Madras immediately after the action, for a supply of provisions; and in the end of September we again marched to try to bring Hyder to another battle. He arrived at Shulingur two days before us, and, as usual, took post near the road by which we were to march. On the 27th, in the morning, the General went out to observe his situation: having considered every thing attentively, he sent to camp for a brigade, to take possession of the ridge of rocks within two miles of Hyder's right. This being done, and every thing still appearing quiet in the enemy's camp (for though they observed the troopers that accompanied the General as a guard, they considered them only as a reconnoitring party, and in that persuasion all, except a few sentries, retired to rest in the heat of the day,) the General ordered the whole army to advance immediately. The head of the line passed the stoney ridge at two o'clock: the enemy were astonished at the sight, and made haste to strike their tents. They had scarcely got into order, when our army came opposite to them, and halted within random shot. The camp colours were planted, as if we intended to encamp; and Hyder, equally afraid to leave his advantageous post to attack us, as to remain so near us during the night, began to retreat in confusion. They could only get away by the left, along the road leading to Arcot; for there was a range of hills in their rear, at the distance of three miles, and the ground on the right was covered with wood, and so rugged, that no guns could pass over it.

The General detached the second brigade to turn Hyder's left, and draw up across the Arcot road, to prevent his escape that way; whilst the rest of the army advanced briskly in front,

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to take possession of the encampment he was quitting, and to drive him back on the hills in his rear. Hyder, seeing that nothing could now save him but a bold push, divided his best horse into three bodies, and sent them under three chosen leaders, to attack as many different parts of our army at the same time, promising them the highest rewards in case they should succeed. They came down at full gallop till they arrived within reach of grape, when being thrown into confusion, the greater part either halted or fled; and those that persevered in advancing were dispersed by a discharge of musketry, except a few, who thought it safer to push through the intervals between the battalions and their guns, than to ride back through the cross-fire of the artillery; but most of these were killed by the small parties in the rear. This attack, though made with little spirit, enabled Hyder to save his guns, which passed within half a mile of the second brigade, while it halted by an order from the General, to be at hand to support the rest of the line, in case the cavalry had made any impression. Excepting the escort with the artillery, every one in the Mysorean army shifted for himself; we followed them till sunset, when they were all out of sight, and we halted for the night two miles in the rear of their camp. Our loss was not above fifty men killed and wounded; Hyder's loss was great for the shortness of the action, and fell chiefly among his best cavalry, upwards of seven hundred of whom were counted dead on the field; he also lost one piece of cannon, which was the first ever taken from him in the field of battle by a European army.

After the defeat, nothing was wanting to drive Hyder out of the Carnatic but the means of carrying provisions, and a train of artillery, for the reduction of Arcot; but we were so far from having rice sufficient for this purpose, that we had not more than enough for two days, nor did we know where to find a supply. In this distress we were relieved by Bom Rauze, the most powerful Rajah dependent on the Nabob of Arcot. The pass which led into his country was not above two miles from the field of battle. The army entered it the following day. The country of Bom Rauze is situated among a heap of naked hills. The intermediate valleys are cultivated in the highest perfection: the communication between them is only by narrow and difficult roads, through which no army had ever marched. The inhabitants, secure in the natural strength of the country, lived in quiet; none of them had ever seen the face of an enemy. Hyder, when he entered the Carnatic, summoned Bom Rauze to repair to his

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standard, who refused to obey till the fall of Arcot, and then complied only to save his lands from being laid waste. He went to the Mysorean camp, attended by a numerous body of his subjects, who serve without pay; he followed Hyder in all his expeditions; and in the confusion which attended the defeat in the last engagement, he escaped into his own country.

He gave permission to his people to bring provisions to the camp, and he himself collected considerable quantities for our use in different villages; but as many of them lay at a great distance from the camp, and the only access to them was by rugged and intricate paths, the supplies arrived so slowly, that although the greater part of the cattle of the army was employed in conveying them, they were little more than sufficient to replace the daily consumption. It was to lessen this inconvenience that the General detached Colonel Owen with six battalions of sepoys and two hundred cavalry, to a village fifteen miles off; the Colonel sent a battalion six miles farther to a fort, the residence of a petty poligar, to which the country people brought rice enough to serve the detachment. This place was separated from the valley where Owen lay, by a chain of rocks. He encamped with his right to the hill, his rear was secured by another hill, his left was open, and there was a choultry two miles in the rear, on the Arcot road, in which an officer was posted with a company of sepoys. A range of hills ran along his front at the distance of a mile; and two or three hundred yards from the foot of them, opposite to the right of the camp, was the entrance of the pass, which led to the valley, where General Coote lay. In this situation, Owen remained till the 22d of October, when his spies brought him intelligence that Hyder's army was approaching: he did not pay much regard to this information, at least he made no change in his disposition. Next morning, at sunrise, the officer at the choultry gave him notice that the enemy's army was in sight, as he believed, at the distance of four miles, and that they were advancing with the utmost rapidity. Upon this, he went out himself with five companies to observe their strength. It was, unfortunately, a considerable time before he was convinced that it was their whole force; he had even once resolved to meet them; but a little reflection made him take the wiser step of retreating. The baggage, which had hitherto been forgotten, was now buried, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Colonel was detained so long waiting for the arrival of the

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party from the choultry, that a large body of horse came down with two guns, which opened upon his rear before it moved from the encampment. As the pass was at no great distance, the front of the line soon gained it, and placed two field-pieces to cover the entrance, under the command of Captain Moorhouse, an officer equal to any danger. Two battalions entered, without losing a man; but the other three were obliged to halt to oppose the enemy, who now fired from above thirty pieces of cannon, whilst their matchlock-men kept up a continual discharge from behind rocks and bushes; and their cavalry hovered round, looking for an opening to charge. The rear battalion gave way; but the other two remained steady, and entered the pass in good order, yet so hard pressed that they were forced to abandon one of the six-pounders posted to defend it. As soon as Colonel Owen learned this misfortune, he determined to make a bold push, not only to retake the gun, but to check the enemy. Captain Moor, a Bengal officer, and Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, offered their services, which were gladly accepted. Captain Moir, putting himself at the head of his grenadier company of Europeans, marched back to the spot where the gun had been left: finding it surrounded by a large body of horse and foot, who were attempting to drag it off, he attacked them vigorously, and was so much favoured by the ruggedness of the ground, that notwithstanding the inequalities of numbers, he put them to flight, and rejoined the line with the gun. The enemy, though they kept a greater distance after this repulse, followed the detachment, firing from behind bushes to the end of the pass, when they retired; and Owen, continuing his march a few miles farther, met the General hastening to support him. Seven officers and near two hundred men were killed or wounded in this action: the number that engaged, including a company of European grenadiers that had joined two days before, did not exceed one thousand five hundred men. The battalion which had been sent to collect rice was not informed of the enemy's approach till eleven o'clock, when it retreated along the hills, and joined the army next morning.

Colonel Owen gained great praise for the calmness with which he gave his orders, and for the intrepidity with which he exposed his person during the action; he was, however, blamed for some dispositions. It was thought by many, that his having an outpost at the distance of a mile and a half was injudicious, as it gave the enemy time to come up before it could be recalled;

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and that his encampment was ill chosen, for that had he established it close to the pass, he might have entered it with his whole force before the enemy could have overtaken him, when the nature of the ground would have counterbalanced the inequality of numbers.

The season being now far advanced, the army made haste to relieve Vellore; but, notwithstanding every exertion, it was found impossible to throw in more than three months' grain. We left it in the beginning of November, and next day encamped near Chittore, a fort of little strength, which had formerly been the residence of Abdulwahab Khan, brother to the Nabob, who defended it some days against Hyder; but having no prospect of relief, he made his escape by night. The officer who succeeded to the command, after a fortnight's siege, surrendered. The person to whom Hyder intrusted the care of it was a man of great resolution; but having no artillery, and a breach being made, in two days he capitulated. A battalion of sepoys being left to garrison it, the rest of the army marched on the 16th to raise the siege of Tripassore, which was invested by a strong detachment; we had only one day's rice with us; there were seven corps which had received none the preceding day. A supply of six days luckily joined us on the march. On the 19th, in the midst of a heavy rain, we quitted the woods by a road that no army ever had passed before; and though we did not advance above five miles, it was attended with such difficulties, that the rear-guard did not reach camp till twelve o'clock next day. The rain continued all this time increasing, and was accompanied with such extreme cold, that many hundreds, both of men and bullocks, perished by the way; whole families, worn out by hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the weather, laid themselves down under the bushes and died together. The rain continued without abatement for two days; there were two rivers between us and Tripassore, and there was only two days' rice in the camp. From this dismal situation we were relieved on the third day, when the weather cleared up; we crossed both rivers with less trouble than had been expected, and the whole army was encamped before midnight within three miles of Tripassore, after being obliged to shoot four elephants and a hundred horses, that could not get through the river.

Tippoo raised the siege on the 20th, after having lain a week before it. The artillery of the garrison consisted of two eighteen-pounders, and six small old guns.

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Tippoo opened a battery of four eighteen-pounders, and in a few hours broke the carriage of one of the large guns in the fort, which constrained the besieged to cease firing. The enemy soon demolished the defences, and breached the wall; but the garrison, having repaired the damaged carriage, opened all their guns, and soon silenced the battery.

Tippoo, finding, from the deepness of the ditch in that place, that he would be obliged to fill it before he could storm the breach, raised another battery opposite to a place of the fort where the ditch was fordable; but was hindered from mounting guns on it by the approach of the army. The army went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Madras, on the 3d of December. I am, &c.

Whoever may take the trouble to compare the preceding narrative with the sentiments expressed by Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill, touching the same transactions, will discover, that though in the main a strict agreement runs through them, certain, and these not unimportant, contrarieties here and there exist. In the estimation of Mr. Munro, for example, the surrender of Arcot was not unavoidable; the place might have held out, and ought to have held out, till relieved. Again, his description of the battle of Porto Novo, though in its details corresponding pretty accurately with that of Colonel Wilks, differs from Mr. Mill's relation in this important particular, that it furnishes no ground whatever for accusing Sir Eyre Coote of indecision; whilst his account of the affair of Pollilore represents it to have been neither a doubtful victory nor a repulse. It was a hard fought, but decidedly a successful action. The army was not compelled to retreat by any demonstrations on the part of the enemy. On the contrary, after remaining upon its ground a sufficient length of time to bury the corpses of Colonel Baillie's ill-fated detachment, it fell back, simply because means of subsistence, so far in advance, were wanting. Lastly, in spite of the honourable anxiety manifested by Colonel Wilks to do justice to the gallantry of Lieutenant Flint, in the defence of Wandiwash, some facts have been omitted even by him, which the

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journal now given supplies; whilst here, and here only, has notice been taken of Colonel Lang's meritorious services in the attack and defence of Velore, which these services eminently merit.

But it is not to be supposed that Mr. Munro's thoughts were, even at this interesting period, so completely engrossed with public matters, as to leave him without leisure for indulging those kindly and generous dispositions which were natural to him. The following letter to his mother, whilst it casts considerable light upon his own proceedings and fortunes, gives proof that the feelings of a son and a brother were not less powerful in him now, than when he dwelt at Northside, in the bosom of his family:—

DEAR MADAM,

I HAVE long been impatiently expecting to hear from you. Every fleet, I imagined, would bring me a letter from at least one member of the family; but though several ships have arrived, they have brought not a single line for me. Your mentioning in your letter of October 1779, my father's disappointment at London, with your hopes of his having gained some friends who might be of service to him hereafter, makes me extremely anxious to know if your expectations have been answered. Two years is a long time to remain in uncertainty of your situation.

When I have found myself here at my ease, I have often reflected how very different the case might be with you, and that thought has given me more pain than any disappointment that could possibly happen to me here would do.

Mr. Graham, in November, got me appointed to act as quartermaster to the fifth brigade, which, with my ensign's pay, is worth about thirty shillings a day; but this, though it might at home, and even in this country, in peaceable times, be thought a handsome allowance, is yet little more than sufficient, in the present state of affairs, to find common necessaries; it is also only temporary, as it ends with the war. However, when this happens, Mr. Graham has promised to get me an appointment; but I don't think this is at all certain. At the same time, I have every reason to hope, that if he remains here till the conclusion of the war, he will do something for me.

We are just now encamped in the neighbourhood of Madras,

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and shall march in a few days to throw a supply of provisions into Vellore.

I shall write you again, and very particularly, by the first ship that sails after the Swallow; but this must depend upon circumstances. If I am in the field, it will be impossible. Though you should not hear from me for a twelvemonth, do not imagine it to be carelessness. A letter runs a thousand risks in going to Madras from the camp; and even after this there is a chance of its being lost on the way to Europe.

Camp, 30th Dec. 1781.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Camp at the Mount, 21st Feb. 1782.

I WROTE to you in the beginning of January, before the army went to Vellore, and again upon our return from thence, in the latter end of the same month; both of which letters were dispatched in the Swallow.

I have now almost laid aside all hopes of ever again hearing from home. The ill success of my father's application in London, which you take notice of in your letter of October 79, (the only one I have received since my leaving England,) and the uncertainty of your present situation, has made me much more impatient and uneasy at your long silence than I should otherwise have been.

You desire me not to write you a simple letter, but rather a kind of a journal of whatever befalls me. I have many times resolved to begin, but have as often been hindered by something or other coming in the way. To relate my own adventures, is the same thing as to write a history of the present war, they being so intimately connected that it is impossible (at least for me) to separate them. I shall, therefore, in imitation of several great men, who have been in a similar situation, take them together.

Sir Hector Monro went to the southward in October last, to take the command of the army intended for the reduction of Negapatam. On his arrival, he found the Dutch army, consisting of five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoys, besides a considerable body of Hyder's troops, encamped within a few miles of that settlement. He stormed their lines the last day of October; completely routed them; killed a good number, and took about three hundred prisoners, with all their baggage, military stores, and twenty-one pieces of cannon. Negapatam

capitulated a few days after. Sir Hector, after having reduced a few small forts in the Tanjore country, which were still in possession of the enemy, returned to Madras.

A cessation of arms having taken place with the Mahrattas, enabled General Goddard, in the beginning of January, to send two battalions of sepoys and fifty Europeans to the relief of Tellicherry, then closely besieged by a Mysorean army, commanded by Sirdaar Khan. As many small vessels had from time to time arrived with supplies for the garrison, the enemy did not suspect any thing more than usual at the appearance of the ships which brought the reinforcement. Major Abingdon, who commanded in the place, determined to attack them before they should discover their mistake. He accordingly sallied, with the greater part of the garrison and the whole of the succours he had received, at three o'clock in the morning, which followed the day of their arrival. The enemy, totally unprepared for such an attack, fled on all sides. Sirdaar Khan himself, wounded by a musket-ball in the foot, and having had his horse killed under him, threw himself, with three hundred men, into a house, where by the gallantry of his defence, he in some measure compensated for his negligence in the guard of his camp. He obstinately refused every offer of quarter till fifty of his soldiers were killed, and till the fire which had been set to the house had caught hold of his clothes. His party, notwithstanding, persisted to the last, and perished in the flames. Six hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot; fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. All their tents, baggage, elephants, and fifty-six pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The garrison of Mahe (which is about four miles distant), though it consisted of two thousand men, were so much terrified at this disaster, that they sent proposals to surrender, on being permitted to retire to their own country, which was granted.

11th March.—In the beginning of February Sir Edward Hughes landed a force from his ships for the attack of Trincomalee; they began by constructing batteries, but having intelligence of a by-path, which led through the woods to the rear of the fort, a detachment was ordered to march through it, and to make an assault on the back part, which it was imagined would be unguarded. The party, after marching all night, stormed the place in the morning so unexpectedly, that they made themselves masters of it in less than half an hour, though it was garrisoned by six hundred Europeans.

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Fifty of the English were killed and wounded in the assault; among the former was Mr. Long, the Admiral's first Lieutenant.

Besides a large quantity of sugar, arrack, &c., and one hundred thousand dollars found in the fort, two homeward-bound Indiamen were taken in the harbour.

The taking of this place is a very fortunate circumstance, as it is here only that the French fleet, which is daily expected, can find refreshment, after the fall of Negapatam; and as it is here only that our own fleet can be sheltered from the tempestuous weather which so often prevails at the change of the monsoon, as there is not a single harbour on the coast of Coromandel.

It was strongly reported in the beginning of the last month, that the long-expected French fleet had been seen to the northward; but though they had been looked for, one would have thought with rather somewhat of impatience for a twelvemonth past, nobody would now believe it. The French have got their hands full at home; they could not have known at their departure from France of the situation of affairs in this country, and it would therefore be madness in them to come upon the coast, was the general discourse; but the fact was soon put beyond a doubt, for on the 11th, two days after Sir Edward Hughes returned from Ceylon, Captain Dickson, the commander of a country vessel, went to Pulicat, put to sea on a catamaran, and discovered the French fleet at anchor, forming a chain about ten leagues in length, in order to intercept all vessels coming from Bengal with supplies for the army; as nearly as he could judge they consisted of twelve ships of the line, six frigates, and eighteen transports.

The report of this gentleman was soon after confirmed by the arrival of two men at Madras, who had been prisoners for six days on board the French squadron, and had been taken in the Bay whilst the British fleet lay at Trincomalee; but to put an end to all doubts, on the 15th the French fleet anchored in sight of Madras, and in the afternoon they came opposite to the fort, when it was discovered that they amounted to thirty-two sail. They sent a frigate into the road to reconnoitre the situation of the Indiamen which they understood were there, but to their astonishment, in place of these they beheld nine men of war, and made signals accordingly. Their fighting ships instantly shortened sail for some of the transports which had dropped astern, and upon their coming up they passed the roads in the evening.

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This armament, as it was undoubtedly fitted out from France before they had information of Colonel Baillie's defeat, must have been intended to drive the English out of the Carnatic, or at least to gain some footing in it for themselves; to neither of which designs was it equal, had the country been in the state which they had reason to have expected. Had they, instead of going to the northward, immediately attacked Sir Edward Hughes, in Madras roads, their success might even have succeeded their expectations; but fortunately, had they afterwards thought of such an attempt, the arrival of Commodore Almes put the execution of it out of their power.

This officer followed a very uncommon route in his passage to India. After touching at Johannah he went to Socotora, from thence coasted along the Arabian shore to 172. when he parted with the fleet and pursued his voyage to Bombay, where he arrived on the 6th of January; having taken on board a supply of water, he set sail for Madras, and anchored in the roads the 11th instant, with the Monmouth, Hero, Isis, and a transport with four hundred and fifty of Fullerton's Regiment; three hundred and fifty of them were reimbarked to act as Marines, and General Meadows went on board as a volunteer.

14th March.—The fleet returned three days ago; the Admiral seeing that the enemy declined fighting, he resolved on the 17th to draw them to an engagement by attacking the transports. In the execution of this plan he lost the weather gage, and the French bore down upon him with nine men of war: he had only four ships of the line and a fifty; the rest were becalmed a great way astern. His own ship, the Superbe, was soon after attacked by three ships, and the Exeter by five. The Admiral was so roughly used, that he was obliged to make the signal of distress: it was a long time before he got any assistance, but at last the Hero came down to his relief when he was in the greatest danger; his ship filled so fast from the great number of shot that she had received between wind and water, that he was obliged to call the men from the guns of the lower tier to man the pumps. The situation of the Exeter was little better till the Monmouth and Isis arrived to support her. They continued this unequal dispute above three hours, when the wind changing, the rest of the fleet came to their assistance, and the French withdrew. The shattered condition of the Admiral and Commodore prevented a pursuit; the former had fourteen shot between wind and water, and one, seven feet under the surface, was not discovered till

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some days after, when he arrived at Trincomalee. He continued there eight days to refit the squadron. He returned to Madras for powder and stores. The Admiral lost his Captain; his surgeon was killed in the cockpit. Captain Regnier of the Exeter was killed. There were thirty men killed and ninety wounded.

The French fleet went to Porto Novo two days after the action, where they now are taking on board water and fresh provisions; and it is said that they landed their troops about a fortnight ago.

16th March.—Not one of all the letters I brought from home have been of the smallest service to me here, except those for Mr. Graham and Mr. Burne; nor does it surprise me, when I consider how many who are unfit to act in any capacity come to this country provided with the strongest recommendations. Mr. Graham (as I mentioned in my letter by the Swallow) got me appointed to act as Quarter-master to a brigade; it is worth one hundred pagodas a month, but it is only temporary.

TO GEORGE BROWN.

Camp near Madras, 28th June, 1782.

In my last, I believe I gave you all the public news, till the arrival of the fleet in the beginning of April, and Sir Edward Hughes for Ceylon. He carried a reinforcement for the garrison, and wished to throw it in before he should engage the French fleet. This, however, he could not accomplish; for he was discovered on the 11th (April), by M. Suffrein, who immediately gave him chase. Sir Edward, finding next day he could not avoid an engagement, formed his line, and awaited the approach of the enemy. The battle was the longest and most desperate that ever happened between the two nations in this part of the world. The two Admirals were long closely engaged. M. Suffrein was obliged to shift his flag; and the Hero, the ship he had left, was on the point of striking, when the deck of the Superbe blew up, and a number of the hands perished by the explosion. The action ceased by mutual consent; and so tired and disabled were both parties, that they anchored within cannon-shot of each other. The Admiral derived no advantage from the junction of the Sultan and Magnanime, as their crews were so sickly that they could hardly muster men to work the ships.

The French fleet, which lay to windward, made a shift to put to sea two days after the action. They formed the line at a great distance, and seemed to offer battle to the English; but they not being in a condition to go out after them, they bore away, and

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were in a short time out of sight. Sir Edward Hughes, a few days after, arrived at Trincomalee.

The army continued in the neighbourhood of Madras till the 10th of April, when we marched to Chinglaput. We were joined towards the end of the month by five hundred men of the 78th regiment. With this reinforcement, we ventured to cross the Paliar for the first time since the arrival of the French. From every account, it now appeared that their force was so much diminished, that we ought rather to seek for, than to decline an engagement.

It was said, that of two thousand two hundred Europeans which they landed, between six and seven hundred were already dead, and so many were sick, that after leaving a small garrison in Cuddalore, they could not join Hyder with more than eight hundred men.

We remained in this camp a few days, during which the enemy made no movement towards us; but as our provisions were nearly expended, and Hyder had sent a detachment to St. Thomé, we again marched towards Madras. This party was commanded by his son Kerish Sahib. It consisted of about four thousand horse and foot, with five or six field-pieces. Their intention was to have attacked the Mount; but the garrison having been put on their guard by some deserters, they did not venture to make an attack. They, however, went within three miles of Madras, and plundered many of the garden-houses. A few of them entered the house where Gen. Monro was with his Secretary, Capt. Clownis: they escaped, with some domestics, by a trap-door, to the top of the house; where, finding fire-arms, they defended themselves till relieved by a party of sepoys. In the mean time, a detachment of the garrison of Madras, joined by the recovered soldiers of the 78th, sallied, and, after a little skirmishing, obliged the enemy to withdraw. The army, after receiving a supply of provisions, marched to the Southward. On our arrival at Chinglaput, we heard of the fall of Parmacoil. Hyder invested it on the 10th, and it surrendered on the 17th May. It was garrisoned by four companies of sepoys, with two European officers. It is one of the strongest forts in the Carnatic. The officer who commanded thought it imprudent to stand an assault when there was a practicable breach.

When we arrived within a few days' march of the enemy, they retreated: Hyder to the red hills, and the French to Valdore. The General, wishing to bring them to an engagement, marched

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towards Arnee, where Hyder had his principal magazine of ammunition and provisions, and he had often been obliged to have recourse to the stock he had laid up here, when any unforeseen event delayed the arrival of his convoys. He therefore determined to make Sir Eyre Coote relinquish his design.

On the 2nd of June our advanced guard had already reached the fort, when he attacked the rear. The army, as soon as it could be formed, advanced towards the enemy, who made no opposition. After some distant cannonading, they gave way: we pursued them six miles, to the bank of the Tiar, and took five tumbrils and two shot-carts, in the sand of the river. The 73rd regiment, which continued the pursuit two miles farther, took a long six-pounder. Our loss was not more than eighty killed and wounded. The French were not in the action; they remained at Valdore.

As the enemy declined a second engagement, and our provisions were nearly consumed, it became necessary to return to Madras.

At Trivatore, we halted on the 8th. We lost our grand guard. In the afternoon, Lieut. Creutzer, who commanded, observed two camels, attended by a small party of horse, crossing a plain in his front; he immediately followed them. They continued to retire, till they had drawn him four miles from camp, when a large body of horse, rushing from ambush, in an instant cut his detachment in pieces, except Lieut. Burrows, with fifteen troopers, who made their way through the enemy, and reached camp, after losing six of their number. This guard consisted of eighty horse, two companies of light infantry, and two field-pieces.

The army returned to the Mount on the 19th inst.; many officers and soldiers sick, from the fatigue of continual marching in the height of the land winds. No idea can be formed by those who have not been witnesses to it, of the effects of marching, on Europeans unaccustomed to the climate. It was reckoned a very great hardship in America, when thirty or forty British soldiers died of heat and fatigue, in the retreat from Philadelphia to New York. Five hundred of the 78th marched from Chinglaput—in three weeks, they had not *fifty* fit for duty.

In this regiment we have a sad proof of the evil consequences that have already and will continue to attend the failure of Commodore Johnston's expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. All the reinforcements sent from Britain will arrive diminished above one third of their original force, and the rest, reduced by a

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long voyage to the last stage of the scurvy, will require long rest and refreshment before they can be brought to the field.

Official accounts were received four days ago of a Peace being concluded between the Company and Mahrattas. You will have the particulars in England. Hyder is commanded to leave the Carnatic, to deliver up all his conquests, prisoners, &c. within six months from the 19th of May; or not complying, he is to be considered as a public enemy and disturber of the peace of India. He is inactive at present: he perhaps waits the event of the engagement between the two fleets, which is daily expected, to take his final resolution.

4th August.—No ship has sailed for Europe since I began this letter, which gives me an opportunity of making it longer than I at first intended; as also of telling you that I received yesterday your letter, 22nd August, 1781, which has all the appearances of the hurry of business. It appears from what you say, that I am to consider your epistles as the thermometer by which I may judge of the state of the office. When there is little to be done, I may hope for a sheet: when you are busy—three or four lines; but when there is hurry and bustle—*none at all.*

Sir E. Hughes remained at Trincomalee till the beginning of July. The crews of the Sultan and Magnanime being by that time freed from the scurvy, and the ships thoroughly repaired, he sailed for Madras.

The state of his squadron, it is said, was such as could neither induce him to seek, or to decline an engagement—it was in better order than that of the enemy, and was nearly equal in the number of guns; but then it was weakly manned, and not sufficiently provided with ammunition. There were two hundred recovered seamen at Madras, and the San Carlos armed transport, which in the present situation of the fleet would be a great reinforcement. The crew of the Eagle, officers commissioned and noncommissioned included, amounted only to two hundred and seventy; the other ships had a proportionable number.

The French Fleet was discovered on the 5th of July at Karrical. The English, being to windward, bore down upon them; the action began at ten o'clock, and lasted till one; when the wind shifting, gave the enemy an opportunity of escaping; their disabled ships towed by the frigates, and the rest following with all their sail. Sir Edward Hughes hung out the signal for a general chase. Captain Gill, of the Minorca, who was next to him, called out that he was unable to follow. The Monmouth

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and Hero were in the same condition, and the Sultan had lost her rudder; the pursuit was therefore given over.

This battle would have proved decisive, had not the wind changed from the land to the sea two hours sooner than it had done for some days before. At the instant of the change, the crew of the Sultan were hoisting out their boats to take possession of the *Sevère*, which had struck to them, but the Sultan turning round with the wind, presented her stern to the enemy, who, seizing an opportunity, poured in a broadside, hoisted their colours, and made sail; nor was she able to take revenge, an unlucky shot having broke her rudder.

On the following day, Captain Watts was dispatched by Sir Edward Hughes to demand her of M. Suffrein. When he came in sight of the French Fleet, an officer who came off in a boat told him, that he would carry any message that he had to the French Admiral. Captain Watts gave him a letter from Sir Edward Hughes, demanding the Ajax, which struck to the Sultan, with which he returned, desiring that the Captain would come no nearer the French Fleet, but anchor where he was.—M. Suffrein's Captain soon after brought this reply: That the ship in question was not the Ajax, but the *Sevère*; that the colours were not struck, the haulyards had been shot away; and that he neither could, nor ought to deliver up the ship.

It is said, that this officer, in the course of conversation with Captain Watts, expressed his pleasure to find there were poltroons amongst the English as well as the French. This remark was occasioned by some of the English ships not engaging so close in the late action as he thought they might have done, and by one of the French not engaging at all.

The Sceptre arrived in the roads the 12th of July, and was dispatched the following day with the San Carlos to join the Admiral; the latter ship carried near two hundred sailors discharged from the hospital, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores for the use of the squadron.

This measure was blamed, as the Admiral before this had acquainted the Board of his intention of coming to Madras, and it was feared that he would have left Negapatam ere they could possibly arrive there: and that there was little chance of their meeting him, as they must stand so far to the eastward to avoid the French cruisers. Sir Edward Hughes arrived on the 20th without having seen them. The Sceptre came in three days after; she had parted from the San Carlos, and looked into Ne-

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gapatam, where not seeing the Fleet, she set sail for Madras. On her way, she fell in with the *La Fine* frigate, which she chased into Cuddalore, where the enemy's fleet lay; two line-of-battle ships ran out after her, but being an excellent sailer, she escaped them both.

The San Carlos did not return till the 28th; thirty per cent. had been refused on the ship and cargo.

The Sceptre and Monmouth sailed on the 31st July, with two hundred Europeans to reinforce the garrison of Trincomalee, lest M. Suffrein should attack it before the English squadron can leave Madras.

Captain B——, who commanded, as he has quarrelled with all the Officers, and neglected the fortifications and every thing else, *except the making of money*, is to be removed; and the care of this important place, for the relief of which they have risked two ships of the line, is to be entrusted to Captain Hay M'Douall, whom you may remember.

Sir Eyre Coote moved with the army to Wandiwash, to be in readiness to attack Cuddalore, in case the French Fleet had been forced to leave the coast; but as nothing decisive happened, he returned to Madras.

Hyder has sent two Vakeels to him. All that I can learn of their proceedings is, that Mr. Graham's interpreter, who returned to Hyder with the Vakeels, received a present of a horse and a gold chain.

The army will march in a few days to throw provisions into Velore.

The Sceptre took a French transport off the Cape with ninety-six men of the regiment of Pondicherry. She left it in charge of the Medea frigate, which is not yet arrived. Sir Richard Bickerton, who was seen in the beginning of June to the eastward of the Cape, has taken the Apollon, a frigate of forty-four guns. M. Suffrein, among a number of other valuable prizes, has taken the Fortitude Indiaman. Do not omit letting Mr. Mayne know how much I esteem myself indebted to him for his recommendations to Mr. Graham and Colonel Owen. I am now almost recovered. I am, &c.

TO GEORGE BROWN.

Camp at the Mount, 6th October, 1782.

I HAVE heard nothing from you these eighteen months, except a few lines with a letter from my brother Daniel. I know

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that you do a great deal of business, but not so much as to hinder you from writing to me more frequently. I begin to long for a few more magazines; the bundle you sent me was the most joyful sight I had seen for many months.

I believe I have sent you more news in the course of the last twelve months than was in the whole of them, so that I disclaim all obligations, till you send me a fresh stock.

I wrote you in August last, and two days ago inclosing a letter for my father, which I left open, in case you should have leisure to peruse it.

I had a letter from Jack about a fortnight ago. He had been troubled with obstructions in his liver for several months, but was then so much recovered, as to have laid aside all thoughts of coming to Madras for the benefit of his health.

On the 7th of August, two or three days after I wrote you last, the army marched with a large convoy of rice to Velore, where we arrived in six days, and threw in seven months' provisions; we could have thrown in three months more, had not the agents in Madras, by their way of measuring, kept about one-fourth of the whole in their own hands. We returned on the 20th to the Mount without having seen any thing of Hyder, who was encamped near Arcot. His army was so much reduced by desertion and death, that he did not think it prudent to approach us, as he could not have prevailed on his people to fight, and would also have given an opportunity for the disaffected to leave him, for most of them were now tired of the war, and wished to return to their homes, to which they were the more induced, by their getting a high price from us for their horses, which they thought the best way of being paid their arrears, which amounted to ten months at least.

As soon as the army returned from Velore, preparations were made to attack Cuddalore. The guns, stores, and rice, were put on board some country ships to be convoyed by a frigate.

The army marched the 29th August, full of hopes of putting an end to the French power in India; but as usual, we were disappointed in our expectations. We remained six days on the red hills, without seeing any thing of the transports. The General, from the anxiety of his mind, and exposing himself too much to the sun, fell into a violent fit of sickness. His life was for some days despaired of, and he found himself obliged to give up the command of the army to General Stuart, who, receiving intelligence from Madras that M. Suffrein, being reinforced, had taken

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Trincomalee and defeated our fleet, took the resolution of returning to Madras. This was instantly put in execution. The army marched the same day (12th Sept.) at noon, and on the 20th arrived at the Mount. We found Sir Edward Hughes had anchored at Madras, ten days before; he had sailed in the end of the preceding month to look for the French Fleet; he soon had the satisfaction he wished for. On the morning of the 3rd of Sept., as he was steering for the harbour of Trincomalee, he was surprised to see fifteen two-deckers come out of it to attack him. He immediately formed his line in the closest order: the enemy manœuvred for some time at a great distance, endeavouring as much as possible to engage a part of our fleet with the whole of their own: but their compact disposition rendered this impracticable.

M. Suffrein bore down and began the action at 2 P.M., which he might have done at 10 o'clock, as he had the weather gage. He attacked the Superbe with great fury, but, after an obstinate struggle, he found it impossible to stand her fire any longer, and his helm not answering when he attempted to retreat, threw him into such a situation that he was for a considerable time exposed to the fire of six ships. Three or four of the bravest of the French Captains bore down to the assistance of their commander and carried him off, with not a mast standing. The rest, who cannonaded at a distance, *were unworthy of serving under so gallant an officer.*

The enemy being to windward, had the choice of distance, and after the repulse of their Admiral availed themselves of it in such a manner, that they suffered little from the fire of the English. They retreated in the evening to Trincomalee. Sir Edward Hughes followed them to the mouth of the harbour, and had the mortification to find that though he had defeated them twice in the course of two months, they had got possession of the most valuable place on the coast of Coromandel. It was thought that the place was out of danger after the reinforcement had been thrown in by the Sceptre and Monmouth in the beginning of August, and for this reason the Admiral stayed at Madras to complete his ships with water, stores, &c. In the mean time M. Suffrein was reinforced by two ships of the line and a frigate of 44 guns. He landed two thousand five hundred Europeans at Trincomalee 22nd August, and the same day took the lower fort by storm, and a week after the upper by capitulation. Dreading the approach of the British squadron, he granted the garrison all

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they demanded. They were sent to Madras, and had liberty to serve wherever the exigencies of service might require their assistance. Hay M'Dowal, whom you may remember, was the commanding officer. I have not yet learned the particulars of the attack and defence.

The French fleet are now at Cuddalore. The L'Orient struck upon a rock going into Trincomalee after the last action.

We wait with impatience for the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton; it is reported, but I fear with little foundation, that he was seen to the Northward a few days ago. If he arrives before the monsoon, it is probable that Trincomalee will be immediately attacked; if he does not arrive, the squadron will go to Bombay, and the army into cantonments.

30th October, 1783.

I have not yet had an opportunity of sending the above to Europe. There was a storm here on the 15th, when many ships were driven ashore, among them the Hereford Indiaman. Sir Edward Hughes put to sea; none of the ships suffered but the Superbe, which lost all her masts. Sir Richard Bickerton arrived on the 19th with all the ships but one Indiaman: he sailed next day to look for the Admiral.

He returned on the 24th, but before he dropped anchor the Juno frigate came in sight and made signals, upon which he went out again.

It is imagined, as neither he nor Sir Edward have been seen since, that they are both gone to Bombay.

John arrived here about ten days ago. I do not think he has grown any since he left home. He is now perfectly recovered, and will soon go round again to Bengal.

TO HIS FATHER.

29th July, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

As I believe you wish to know the situation of public affairs in this country, I shall mention the principal events of the war since I wrote you in November last, though I believe my talking too much of these matters has already been the occasion of several of my letters not reaching you. The death of Hyder, which happened on the 7th of December 1782, gave great hopes of being able to prosecute the war more successfully than we had hitherto done, but the changes attending this event were not so sudden as had been expected. His son Tippoo succeeded to

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his power without any of those violences so common in Indian governments; he soon after took the field, joined by a considerable body of French, and prepared to besiege Wandiwash. Neither this place nor Carrangooly being able to afford any protection to the neighbouring country, nor from their weakness to defend themselves for any length of time, the Board at Madras determined to destroy them. For this purpose the army under General Stuart marched to Wandiwash in the beginning of February. On our arrival we found the enemy encamped about fifteen miles from us on the south side of the river Chiar. They passed it on the 11th and 12th, and encamped at the village of Nedingul, about ten miles distant. We marched at daybreak on the 13th to attack them, but they having intelligence of our approach, recrossed the river, and when we came to the bank of it, they were four miles on the opposite side. To follow them would have been in vain, as they seemed to have had no other intention than to cannonade our rear on our return to Madras, or, by pretending to offer battle, to amuse us from the demolition of the fort till we had consumed our provisions, and should be obliged to return without finishing our work. The army marched back to Wandiwash next day, and having destroyed the fortifications, we moved towards Carrangooly on the 16th, which we also demolished, and arrived at Madras.

In the beginning of March the army threw a convoy of grain into Velore; we met with no opposition, as Tippoo with his whole army had marched towards his own country on the 30th of the preceding month, drawn there by the accounts he had of the rapid progress of General Mathews on the Malabar coast.

I have never seen any connected accounts of the operations of the army on that coast; you cannot therefore expect the particulars from me. Colonel Humberston, after passing the monsoon at Calicut, laid siege in November to a place called Pollypochery, but was forced to retire on the approach of Tippoo with a strong detachment from his father's army. He was followed by the enemy, and found it necessary to take post in a strong camp about twenty-five miles from Calicut. He was joined here by Colonel Macleod, who had been sent from Madras to take the command of the detachment, which now consisted of five hundred Europeans, eight hundred Bombay sepoys, and twelve hundred from the King of Travancore. At daybreak on the 29th of November the enemy attacked him in his camp. They took by storm a redoubt about three hundred yards in his front:

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they were hardly in possession of it when they were attacked and beaten out by the 42nd regiment. They made a second attempt, and were repulsed. The action then became general, and continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy quitted the field, after having had a thousand men killed and wounded. Colonel Macleod, a few weeks after this, was ordered by General Mathews to join him at Onore, a fort on the sea-coast to the northward of Mangalore. After the junction, the place was taken by storm in the month of January, and a few days after another fort, called Bassalore, surrendered. In these places three ships of war were found nearly finished. The force at this time under General Mathews consisted of one thousand three hundred Europeans, and five battalions of sepoys. The ratification of the Mahratta peace, which took place some time before, had enabled the Bombay Government to detach so considerable a force. General Mathews began his march to Bidanore in the end of January; he took by storm the works which defended the passes into the country, and Hydernagur, the capital of the province, capitulated on the 30th. It was the loss of this country, one of the most fertile of India, which had always furnished great supplies to the Mysorean army, that carried Tippoo so suddenly out of the Carnatic. He gave orders at the time of his departure to demolish Arcot, Permacoil, and several other forts, and to send the magazines of grain into his own country. The army passed near Arcot on its return from Velore. The fortifications were so completely destroyed as to render it unnecessary to leave any garrison in it.

At this time M. Bussy arrived at Cuddalore; he brought with him a reinforcement of 2000 Europeans and three ships of the line. Sir Edward Hughes did not return from Bombay till the 13th of April. Nine Indiamen, that sailed from England in September, arrived on the 16th. Sir Eyre Coote arrived on the 24th from Bengal; he was brought ashore insensible, and died on the 26th. His death was occasioned by the continual anxiety and restlessness of his mind during five days that he was chased by a French frigate. Nothing could prevail on him to quit the deck for a moment; he sunk down at last, exhausted by fatigue and the heat of the sun; he was carried to his cabin, and was heard frequently to exclaim, "How cruel it is, after all my labours, to fall in this manner into the hands of my enemies!" The army marched from Temaram, a village about twenty miles from Madras, on the 21st of April, to besiege Cuddalore. We

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carried ten days' provisions with us; the remainder, with the stores, went by sea. A detachment took possession of Permacoil on the 26th, and the army arrived on the 2nd of May. The army encamped before Cuddalore on the 7th. The five following days were employed in landing a regiment of Hanoverians, under Colonel Waggenheim, intrenching tools, ammunition, &c. The enemy were at the same time busy in making lines from the Bandepollam hills, on their right, to the sea, on their left—running nearly, from east to west, about a thousand yards in front of the fort. They began to finish them from the right, as being farthest from the fort, and least protected by its fire. They completed a trench from the foot of the hills, six hundred yards to the left, in the centre of which there was a small redoubt, and two hundred yards from the left, a large one, nearly finished; going on five hundred yards farther to the left, there was a redoubt on the high road from Cuddalore to Chilambrum, and between this and the sea three batteries. This was the state of their works when they were attacked on the 13th. In the range of hills which extend to the north-west of Cuddalore, a situation was found within six hundred yards of the finished part of the enemy's works, which entirely commanded them; four eighteen-pounders were placed on it. The enemy, next day, got some guns on a hill that overlooked it, but neglected to take possession of one between them, as they thought it impossible to carry up guns to it. Major Mackay, of the artillery, marched at midnight on the 12th, with a detachment of sepoys and pioneers, and eight field-pieces, to take possession of it: he made a road among the bushes with as little noise as possible, and got all his guns mounted before daybreak. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly was waiting behind the hill with eighty of the Company's Europeans, and a brigade of sepoys, to take possession of it, when the enemy should be dislodged by the artillery, and then to attack the right of their intrenchment; while the rest of the army was to be drawn out, to attack their lines in different places. At daybreak, Major Mackay opened his guns against the enemy's post on the hill: the fire was so severe that they did not wait to carry off their guns; they ran headlong down the hill, and were followed by Colonel Kelly, who defiled with some difficulty through a narrow path among the bushes, and drew up his Europeans in the rear of the trench; the intricacy of the road prevented his being joined immediately by the sepoys: he did not hesitate to advance with his small party. The enemy, as much surprised

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by his appearance as they had been by the fire from the hill, retreated, after receiving a few platoons, to the battery on the left of the intrenchment, from whence they soon after began a heavy fire on the European grenadiers under Colonel Cathcart, as he advanced from the left of the army to support Colonel Kelly; and they killed many of them after they had reached the trench, before their fire could be silenced by the eighteen-pounders on the opposite hill. When this was effected, Colonel Cathcart advanced to storm the redoubt. The enemy returned to their guns, and the grape they fired did such execution that he was forced instantly to retreat. Colonel Stuart, with the 73rd regiment, and two battalions of sepoys, had by this time come down to the intrenchment. The report he made of the enemy's strength determined the General to make two attacks at the same time—one on the right of the redoubt and the other on the front of it: the former led by Colonel Stuart, having under his command the European grenadiers, the 73rd regiment, and a brigade of sepoys; the latter, led by Colonel Gordon and Major Cotgrave, was composed of the 101st regiment and Hanoverians, supported by two battalions of sepoys. The whole of the Europeans were to advance without their cannon. Major Mackay was ordered to fire three minutes, and no longer, after the signal should be given, which was three guns, that were fired from the hill a little after eleven o'clock. The front attack immediately moved forward; the Hanoverians on the left, led by Colonel Gordon, marched in battalion order; four companies of the 101st regiment on the right, led by Major Cotgrave, by files, as they had to pass through a grove of palmyras: the remainder of the regiment was left with the reserve, about three hundred yards in the rear. The troops advanced through a heavy sand, and when the 101st, quitting the palmyra grove, appeared in the plain, about two hundred yards from the redoubt, the enemy began a warm cannonade; and the greater part of their infantry abandoning the redoubt, extended themselves behind a breastwork to the left of it. They fired a volley at the distance of about one hundred yards, and a second when we had advanced about thirty yards nearer. The Hanoverians then halted, gave their fire, and the greater part of them ran away. Two companies of the 101st, from the order of march, were in their rear; these they carried along with them to the reserve of the regiment, and the whole together broke through the sepoys that were drawn up to support them. The two front companies, not seeing the flight of the

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rear, continued to advance, and most of them fell at the foot of the redoubt. The enemy now advancing from their work, dispersed the few Hanoverians that still stood by their officers; followed them to the 101st, that had been prevailed on to halt in the rear; drove both through the sepoy reserve, and chased the whole about a quarter of a mile. They were now in their turn obliged to retreat quickly, to prevent their being cut off from the garrison; for as they had all quitted the redoubt to follow the chase, five companies of sepoys, that were on the left of the Hanoverians, took possession of it, while the division under Colonel Stuart hastened forward to the post on the Chilambrum road: upon seeing this, they formed, and retired in good order to another regiment, that was drawn up about two hundred yards beyond the left of this post, which Colonel Stuart had taken with little opposition. They immediately began a heavy fire of musketry from the cover of sandbanks; and at the same time poured grape into the redoubt, which was open in the rear, from four pieces of cannon. The grenadiers and 73rd, seeing themselves unsupported by artillery, and falling fast under the fire of the enemy, lost courage, and retreated in confusion to the redoubt that had been attacked by the Hanoverians. Three battalions of sepoys followed them in good order, and hindered the enemy from pursuing them. The firing soon after ceased on both sides, and before daybreak, the enemy abandoned all their outposts, and retired to the fort.

We took sixteen pieces of cannon in the different works we carried. We lost, in killed and wounded, near sixty officers, seven hundred Europeans, and two hundred and fifty sepoys. The loss of the enemy is not known, but must have been less than ours.

The squadron under M. Suffrein came in sight the same day; it consisted of fifteen ships of the line. Sir Edward Hughes was at this time four miles to the southward of Cuddalore, covering the rice-ships at the landing-place. He moored, on the 16th, opposite to the fort, to prevent the garrisons having any communication with their fleet, and was followed by M. Suffrein, who kept abreast of him, at the distance of a league. In this situation were both fleets lying-to at sunset. Some signal-guns were heard after dark, and next morning not a ship was to be seen. M. Suffrein returned in the afternoon, and anchored in the roads. Sir E. Hughes appeared to the eastward on the 18th, but could not bring the enemy to action till the 20th: his whole fleet was not

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engaged: he withdrew after having had between five and six hundred men killed and wounded. He made sail next day for Madras, and the French squadron returned to Cuddalore on the 22nd. As I have not seen any body belonging to our fleet, I cannot give you any account of the action. Our rice-ships having been forced to run, after having landed little more than half their cargoes, it became necessary to discontinue the daily allowance to the public and private followers of the army. They were reduced to the greatest distress; the little they procured from the country was hardly sufficient to keep them alive. This was not the only bad consequence of the departure of the fleet. The presence of such a man as M. Suffrein, obliged us to make our approaches with caution, and to keep strong guards in them. He was continually urging M. Bussy to attack us. He offered to land the greatest part of his crews, and to head them himself, in storming our camp. M. Bussy rejected his proposal, but ordered twelve hundred men to be landed to reinforce the garrison, while the regiment of Aquitaine, and some other corps, amounting to a thousand men, should make an attempt on our trenches. We had by this time carried our works within eight hundred yards of the fort, and had thrown up a small redoubt to the right of the road, which led to it. The enemy attacked this post in the morning of the 25th, about two hours before daybreak. They dispersed a regiment of sepoys that was drawn up in an unfinished part of the trench that extended to the right of it, and attacked it in flank. The European pickets that were in the rear were ordered to support, but all, except a few men of the 73rd, ran away upon hearing the first discharge of musketry; and before the arrival of any reinforcement, the guard of the redoubt, consisting of two companies of sepoys and a company of the 78th regiment, repulsed the enemy. Our loss in this affair was not more than twelve or fifteen men killed; that of the enemy was between two and three hundred men killed and wounded. The Chevalier Dumas, who commanded the sally, and sixty privates were taken. Two columns, which were intended to attack the left of our trenches, after receiving two or three discharges from some field-pieces that were mounted in different parts, retreated to the fort.

Nothing of any consequence happened after this day. We made no new approaches, but employed ourselves in strengthening what we had already made, till the 2nd of July, when Mr. Sadlier, a member of Council, and Mr. Stanton, private secretary

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to Lord Macartney, came to camp from Cuddalore, where they arrived two days before in the Medea. They published a cessation of arms they had concluded with M. Bussy, by virtue of powers vested in them by Government; and, at the same time, an order for General Stuart to leave the command of the army to General Bruce, and to return himself to Madras.

We are now embarking the heavy stores, and shall leave this place in a few days. A detachment, consisting of the 78th regiment, two hundred Hanoverians, eighty of the Company's Europeans, and two battalions of sepoys, under the command of Colonel Stuart, marched, on the 25th, to join the army under Colonel Fullerton, which is now near Trichinopoly.

The French Commissioners have been detained at Bombay. It is said that Cuddalore will not be given up till their arrival.

General Matthews was taken by Tippoo, in Hydernagur, in the month of May. No official accounts have been received, but there seems to be little room to doubt the truth of this event. Tippoo laid siege to Mangalore, but raised it on the approach of the rainy season. It is imagined that he will make peace on almost any terms that shall be proposed: he must either do this or see the war transferred to his own country. Were he inclined to enter the Carnatic, he could not subsist his army, as he has resigned all the advantages he once had, by demolishing the principal forts, and removing the magazines of grain that were formed in the lifetime of his father. The arrival of convoys from Mysore would, at this season of the year, be too uncertain to depend on for the subsistence of his army. He sees all hopes of assistance from the French at an end, and must be sensible that, being now disengaged from all our other enemies, he can no longer have any prospect of success in contending against us.

General Stuart was ordered to Madras for unnecessary delays which the Committee say he made in his march to Cuddalore, and yet he arrived there as soon as the store-ships: his going a month sooner would have been to no purpose, for, as our intrenching tools and heavy cannon were in them, we could not have begun our operations. We could only carry ten days' provisions, and therefore could only have remained four days before the place, as we must have kept six days' to carry us back to Chingleput, the nearest place where we could have got a supply. When the Admiral arrived, he wrote to the General that the fleet should remain till the surrender of the fort, but that he must send him a supply of fresh provisions. The General answered,

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that he would not only comply with his request, but would also send a battalion to Porto Novo to cover the watering of the fleet. Sir Edward, when nothing was wanting to secure the capitulation of the garrison but his keeping his station, allowed himself to be drawn away by M. Suffrein in the night of the 16th of June, and ran so far to the eastward, that he could not with all his endeavours again reach the roads.

The General has been much blamed for not taking possession of the ground on the 7th, which he gained with such great loss on the 13th. It was said that the enemy, not expecting to be attacked on that side, had made no preparations; that the ground might have been occupied without resistance; and that it was not till the day following that, encouraged by our inactivity, they thought of forming lines; that he entertained too high an opinion of the enemy, and placed too little confidence in his own officers; that as it was not till after many entreaties of the field-officers that he allowed the works to be stormed on the 13th, he would probably, had he been left to himself, have so long delayed the attack, as to have rendered the success of it very doubtful; that his deferring the attack of the redoubt from break of day, when the right of the enemy's lines were carried, till eleven o'clock, gave them time to recover from their panic, while our troops were fatigued and dispirited from standing so long in the sun; that his ordering the officer commanding the artillery on the hills to fire for three minutes and no longer, to cover the troops as they advanced to the assault, could not have been expected from any man who had ever been a soldier, for that the time was expired before the troops got near the redoubt, and the enemy, perceiving the firing ceased, came from behind it, and extended themselves in good order along the sand-banks, which they could hardly have done had the cannonade been continued as long as it might have been with safety to our own people.

The flank attack, under Colonel Stuart, did not move till the front one was repulsed; had it advanced at the same time, two regiments that were at the redoubt would have been cut off. There seemed to be no connexion in our movements; every one was at a loss what to do, and nothing saved our army from a total defeat but the French being, like ourselves, without a General.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

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The following letters are selected from many written during this interval to his younger relatives; they afford a fair specimen of his mode of expressing himself on lighter and more private topics.

TO HIS BROTHER, JAMES MUNRO.

Camp at the Mount, November 1st, 1782.

ALL my correspondents mention with wonder your extraordinary talents. They say that you talk in quite a different style from the other boys of your age, and that you imitate none of them: this peculiarity is a sure mark of an original genius. They also say that your deportment is grave, and that you despise making a vain display of your abilities; that you are the wonder of your schoolfellows; that thoughts like yours never entered into any of their heads; and that you never open your mouth but to say something new and uncommon, and utter sentences that deserve to be noted in a book. Whatever the boys may think, I hear that it was entirely owing to you that they all got books at the examination. When you go to the College, you will be of great use as a speaker in the societies. I have even hopes that you will rival your brother Daniel, who was a great ornament of them in former times. He once, if I mistake not, made a speech, and was, when he *stuck* in the middle of it, within an ace of gaining great applause.

Let William and Margaret know that it is my orders that they do not presume to interrupt your meditations. Should William not comply, he shall not hear a word about the Great Mogul: as for Margaret, she is a female, and they, you know, always take advice.

TO HIS BROTHER, WILLIAM MUNRO.

Camp at the Mount, November 1st, 1782.

DEAR WILL,

THE above appellation will, I fear, be pronounced by the gentlemen of the College to be rather too familiar for a man of such profound erudition as you assert that you are, notwithstanding what appearances may say.

Among a number of Europe letters I received the other day, I saw one which, from the superscription, I concluded to be from James. I rejoiced at the thoughts of having my understanding enlightened by some of those sententious remarks and grave observations that he delivers without premeditation; but what was

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my surprise, when, on breaking the seal, I found I had got for a correspondent one of the most eminent of the literati, who was a proficient in geography, was master of Euclid, understood all the cases of right-angled and oblique-angled trigonometry; had gone over the mensuration of heights, distances, and superficies; talked Latin as fast as Greek, and English as fast as either, and had crowned all his studies by the attainment of the four common rules of arithmetic. I was one evening amusing myself in a boat upon the Canal—your great discernment will tell you that it was before I left home—when the sun went down, and one of the company, (a weaver,) a sensible man, observed that it put him in mind of Young's Night Thoughts. In imitation of this gentleman, Sir, give me leave to say, that your extensive learning puts me in mind of a Doctor—I have forgot his name—no matter, you will remember it, when I tell you it begins with an M——, and that he was a great theologist, and made speeches at the Council of Trent, and was less attended to than several who spoke less of themselves, and more of the public business.

You demand an account of the East Indies, the Mogul's dominions, and Muxadabad; but I shall be cautious how I submit it to your inspection, till it is properly digested, especially as I am advised by you of a circumstance of which I was before ignorant, that Muxadabad is more *populous* than London. I imagine, when you made the above requisition, that you did it with a view rather to try my knowledge than to increase your own; for your great skill in geography would point out to you that Muxadabad is as far from Madras, as Constantinople is from Glasgow; you will, therefore, I hope, favour me with a description of the Turk and his capital.

I am sorry to learn that your Spanish drove out the French, and went after them. With proper respect and due decorum, I am, profound Sir, your admirer,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

YOU must not think me forgetful, if I do not write to you so often as to my father and mother, since I consider it of little consequence to which of you my letters are addressed: if they reach home, they are considered as family epistles.

You cannot conceive what labour I go through a little before the departure of the Europe-ships. I have half a dozen of long letters to write, which employ me three or four nights. I often

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wish, before I have half done, that some quicker method could be invented of conveying our thoughts. This would be of greater use to you than to me, if your correspondence is now as extensive as it formerly was. I have heard it frequently observed, that most men, by a few years' absence from their native country, become estranged from their old acquaintances, and look back with indifference on the scenes of their earlier years. I have never yet been able to divest myself of my partiality for home; nor can I now reflect without regret on the careless, indolent life I led in my father's house, when time fled away undisturbed by those anxious thoughts which possess every one who seeks earnestly for advancement in the world. I often see my father busied with his tulip beds, and my mother with her myrtle pots; I see you drawing, and James lost in meditation: and all these things seem as much present to me as they did when I was amongst you. Sometimes, when I walk on the sea-shore, I look across the waves, and please myself with fancying that I see a distant continent amongst the clouds, where I imagine you all to be. John Napier Greenhill is the only person here with whom I can talk of these things: he is so great an admirer of yours, that he one day solemnly declared to me, that he did not think you inferior in vivacity to his sister Anne. When I told him that he must not think me so credulous as to regard this flight as his real opinion, he assumed a grave countenance, and protested that he never was more serious in his life. This is farther confirmed by a letter I had some time ago from John Brown, informing me that his amiable correspondent, Erskine, had written him by the last ships a lively letter: his opinion goes farther with me than John Napier's, which I never have placed any confidence in since he one day told me that he had beaten my mother at backgammon, and that, had he not been afraid, he could have beaten my father also. A man, after such assertions as these, will say any thing.

Camp before Cuddalore, 17th July, 1783.

From the cantonments near Madras, Mr. Munro removed, in July 1784, to join his regiment at Melloor, near Madura, where he remained till January in the following year, when he was transferred to the thirtieth battalion, then quartered at Tanjore. With this corps he did duty during a few months only, when, in consequence of its reduction, he was

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made over to the first battalion; and he continued at Tanjore till his promotion to a Lieutenancy in the month of February 1786.

This event attached him for a season to an European battalion at Madras; but of service at the Presidency he soon became weary, and, at his own request, an exchange was effected for him into the eleventh battalion of sepoys. The latter corps was at the time stationed at Cassumcottah, near Vizagapatam, at which place Mr. Munro abode till January 1787; but he was eventually appointed to the twenty-first battalion in garrison at Velore, and in the following month joined it.

Such is the meagre summary, which alone I am enabled to give, of the professional career of Mr. Munro during several years. It was a period of profound peace, and of course furnished no opportunities of exertion in the field; but it was by no means wasted by the subject of this memoir in idleness, far less in dissipation. The following interesting letter to a correspondent in Glasgow, will show how his leisure moments were usually spent.

A country like India, which has been so often overrun by historians and travellers, and the manners of whose inhabitants have undergone but little change in so long a succession of ages, affords nothing to engage the curiosity of Europeans, except when it becomes the theatre of political revolutions, or is laid waste by contending armies. The powerful kingdoms you meet with in the accounts of the early voyagers, have been long since overthrown. They have, within these two hundred years, suffered numberless changes,—now joined into great kingdoms, now separated into a variety of petty principalities;—they have been ruled alternately by Indians and Mohammedans. The Zamorin is the only ancient sovereign in the south of India; he possesses a small district on the Malabar coast, from which he is in continual apprehension of being expelled by Tippoo. He joined Colonel Fullerton's army, with some of his followers, in the last war.

The Peninsula is at present divided among four great powers, —the Mahrattas, the Nizam, Tippoo, and the English. There

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are besides a few independent chiefs, such as the King of Travancore and others; but they are too inconsiderable to be of any consequence in the great scale of politics. You may see, in the map published some years ago by Major Rennel, the extent and boundaries of their respective territories. The war which has been carried on for two years past by the Mahrattas and the Nizam against Tippoo, has made little alteration in them.

I have been for some years past amusing, or rather plaguing, myself with the Hindostanee and Persian languages. I began the study of them in the hopes of their becoming one day of use to me; and I was encouraged to go on by the wonderful relations given by Messrs. Richardson and others of the magazines of the useful and the agreeable concealed in Oriental manuscripts. I have been unlucky enough not to have yet found any of these treasures; but I have found, at least I think so, that these gentlemen have been rather lavish in their encomiums. They have pronounced a number of books to be elegant, beautiful, and sublime: and they have supported the old opinion, that fancy abounds much more in the East than in the West. This doctrine may be very well adapted to those people who imagine that a writer who frequently introduces the sun and the moon, and roses and nightingales, must be a very grand and very fanciful genius; and to those learned authors who attribute the fertility of Oriental imagination to the heat of the sun—who conceive it to be expanded by that luminary, in the same manner as air;—and that, in tropical climes, the unfortunate owner is hurried away by it, sometimes above the clouds, and sometimes into the sea, as if he were tied to Major Money's balloon.

Among the many books that they admire, is the poem of Yooseph and Zuleiha by Tami—a most patience-proving story, founded on that of Potiphar's wife. Here the lady does nothing but pine, and cry, and string similes from the beginning to the end; and her swain appears to be an honest, wholesome, counsel-giving divine.

After an exordium, with which all Persian books begin, in praise of God and the Prophet, Zuleiha's birth and qualifications, mental and personal, are described. Among the latter is one somewhat singular:—the poet, after mentioning the largeness of her hips, says, the flesh was so soft, that, when pressed by the hand, it came out between the fingers like dough.

Not satisfied with his first description of her roses, rubies, and narcissuses, he gives you a second, in which he compares her

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features to the different letters in the alphabet; and on this occasion his ideas are so far-fetched, that I was more puzzled to find the smallest similarity, than ever I was by any geometrical problem. His pathetic scenes are everlasting lamentations, in which the lady is angry with her father and mother for bringing her into the world, and with her nurse for giving her suck,—and curses the day in which she was born. His moral observations consist of a heap of old maxims, commonly called proverbs.

When Joseph's brethren consult about making away with him, they lay their heads together; because wise men say that two contain more than one; and that if a man cannot see to do his work with one candle, he lights another.

The Leili and Mujnoon by Nizami is, if possible, still more extravagant, absurd, and insipid than this. When Mujnoon hears that Leili is to be given in marriage to another, he flies to the wilderness, and tells his griefs to the beasts of the forest—by which they are so affected, that they acknowledge him for their chief, and follow him wherever he goes.

Colonel Dow, who, from his translations, appears to have been but a poor Persian scholar, affects to be a great admirer of these eloquent writers. Abul-Fazel, secretary to the Emperor Ackbar, is, he says, "sometimes too flowery; but at other times he comes down in a flood of eloquence on his astonished readers, like the Ganges when it overflows its banks."

I cannot say that, in perusing this author, I did not feel the astonishment which the Colonel describes; but it was owing to the immoderate length of his periods, that came down upon me in floods of such paltry nonsense, as can be imagined only by those who have read the Lady's Magazine.

The Persian writers have always been fond of long, pompous periods; and Abul-Fazel, who seems to have thought that the essence of all good writing consisted in this, has been so eminently successful, that his nominatives and verbs are often posted at the distance of three pages from each other; and the space within is occupied with parentheses, where the sense, if any, lies concealed behind such a number of intrenchments, that the Council of Trent would be more puzzled to discover it, than they were to settle the meaning of Grace. Antitheses, and conceits of all kinds, are as much admired as long periods: these are chiefly employed in pathetic scenes; but when they have occasion to argue or moralize, every thing is done by the help of proverbs.

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An old schoolmaster, to give me an idea of the sagacity of the philosophers of ancient times, told me a story the other day of the poet Tami, who was also a notable divine, and one of his scholars. He was, it seems, one of those wise men who are fond of talking mystically on the most common occasions; this continually kept up the attention of his scholars, to know what he meant or wanted. He happened once to drop an orange; one of his scholars immediately began to reason with himself on the meaning of it. My master does nothing without a design. Tun was the sound the orange made in falling. Tun, zun, zun, and gumaun, have the same signification: gumaun, kumaun, are written in the same way. Kumaun is koos in Arabic; koos inverted is sook; sook, in Persian, is bazar; bazar and nar-ar have the same appearance on paper: this must be his meaning. The scholar ran and brought a pomegranate, nar signifying a pomegranate, and ar, bring.

Saadi is looked upon as the standard of Persian moral writers, and from his works are taken most of those little stories you find in the Spectator—of the drop of rain that fell into the ocean, and others: but these are his best—the rest are nothing but heaps of proverbs and wise sayings, to illustrate what every body knows; such as—a wise king should not be rash in ordering any one to be put to death, because the doctor cannot put things to rights afterwards. No man, with all his exertions, can ever get more than is decreed for him by Providence; and if he is not to catch fish, he may throw his net into the Tigris till he is tired.

Sentences of their books are continually in the mouths of every Mohammedan who understands Persian. Their conversation, the most self-sufficient and pedantic that can be imagined, and which turns unceasingly on Providence and the Prophets, is stuffed with verses from them and other books of poetry, except when they argue on religion, and then they attack and defend with verses of the Koran, though they understand no other Arabic; and assert at the same time, that it is impossible to render the divine spirit of it into any other language, or even to understand it properly in the original.

Books are very dear in the East, and the barbarous character in which they are written occasions a thousand errors in transcribing; so that the generality of people can afford to buy but few, and these few, from their incorrectness, they read with much difficulty; but then they have this advantage, that by the

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time they finish a book, they have the greatest part of it by heart, and are enabled to dispute more successfully. If they have any correct copies, they are confined to the libraries of princes and great men; but even these cannot be read without hesitation, as there are thousands of words in Persian that are written in the same manner, but have different meanings, and are differently pronounced.

Their histories since the eighth century are faithful; but are written in a dull, heavy style, like the genealogical chapters in the Bible. They contain but two descriptions of men—the good and the bad. The former are, without exception, as strong as elephants, as brave as Alexander, and as wise as Solomon; the latter oppressed their subjects, despised men of letters, and are gone to hell.

But of all their writings, none are more ridiculous, affected, and quaint, than their letters. They are composed of wise sayings, allusions, hints, broken sentences, and the blessing of God, without which, they observe, nothing can be done—of the most high-flown expressions of friendship or fidelity; but the same in all; and of the most extravagant complaints of the pain and torment of absence.

But every thing is set to rights again by philosophy's luckily coming to the aid of the letter-writer, and reminding him, that between friends an apparent separation is of no consequence, as they are always present to each other in idea. This is what they call the "Molakali Jismania Bohani," or corporeal and spiritual meeting; and without these, few letters are ever written.

The Emperor Akbar, the most enlightened of the monarchs of Asia, makes great use of them; and consoles himself with the one, for the want of the other; but I am not so much a philosopher as the Emperor, for I never write to a Mussulman without telling him, that notwithstanding our spiritual meeting, unless the Cause of causes, God, shall cause a cause, that shall be the cause of our corporeal meeting, it will be altogether impossible for me to remain much longer in the vale of tears.

Their best style of writing is, I think, their tales, which are more simple than is generally thought in Europe. To prove this, I send you the story of Shylock, which I found in a Persian manuscript, with a literal translation of that part which concerns him,—for it is more properly the story of the Cazi of Emessa.*

* This story is given verbatim, as coming from Ensign Thomas Munro, in the collection of notes at the end of the Merchant of Venice, in Malone's edition

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TRANSLATION.

"It is related, that in a town of Syria, a poor Mussulman lived in the neighbourhood of a rich Jew. One day he went to the Jew and said, 'Lend me a hundred dinars, that I may trade with it, and I will give thee a share of the gain.' This Mussulman had a beautiful wife, and the Jew had seen and fallen in love with her; and thinking this a favourable opportunity, he said, 'I will not do this; but I will give a hundred dinars with this condition, that after six months thou shalt return it to me. But give me a bond in this form, that if the term of the agreement be exceeded one day, I shall cut a pound of flesh from thy body, from whatever place I choose.' The Jew thought that by this means he might perhaps enjoy the Mussulman's wife.

"The Mussulman was dejected, and said, 'How can this thing be?' But as his distress was extreme, he took the money on that condition, and gave the bond, and set out on a journey, and in that journey he acquired much gain, and was every day saying to himself, 'God forbid that the term of the agreement should pass away, and the Jew bring vexation on me!' He therefore gave a hundred gold dinars into the hands of a trusty person, and sent him home to give it to the Jew; but his own family, being without money, spent it to subsist themselves.

"When he returned from his journey, the Jew required payment of the money, or the pound of flesh. The Mussulman said, 'I sent the money a long time ago.'—The Jew said, 'The money came not to me.' When this, on examination, appeared to be true, the Jew carried the Mussulman before the Cazi, and represented the affair. The Cazi said to the Mussulman, 'Either satisfy the Jew, or give the pound of flesh.' The Mussulman, not consenting to this, said, 'Let us go to another Cazi.' When they went, he also spoke in the same manner. The Mussulman asked the advice of an ingenious friend that he had:—he said, 'He is a Jew, and thou art a Mussulman; he is subject to thee—say to him, Let us go to the Cazi of Emessa; go there, that thy business may be well.' The Mussulman went to the Jew, and said, 'I shall be satisfied with the decree of the Cazi of Emessa.' The Jew said, 'I shall be so too.' Then both departed for the city of Emessa. (Here follows a recital of the adventures they met

of Shakspeare. A copy of the original Persian MS. written by Mr. Munro at the time he discovered it, that is, in the year 1785 or 6, was sent by him to his friend Mr. Haliburton; but that gentleman has unfortunately not preserved it.

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with on the road; but I only translate that part of the story which concerns the Jew.) The Jew said, 'O Judge! this man borrowed a hundred dinars of me, and made a pound of flesh from his own body the pledge—command him to give the money or the flesh.' It happened that the Cazi was the friend of the Mussulman's father, and on this account he said, 'Thou sayest true,—it is the purport of the bond.' He desired them to bring a knife. The Mussulman, on hearing this, became speechless. The knife being at length brought, the Cazi turned his face to the Jew, and said, 'Arise, and cut a pound of flesh from his body, in such a manner that there may not be a grain more or less; and if thou shalt cut more or less, I shall order thee to be put to death.' The Jew said, 'I cannot; I shall leave this business and depart.' The Cazi said, 'Thou mayest not leave it; for the cruelty of the Jew is great.' He said, 'O Cazi! I have released him!' He said, 'It cannot be; either cut the flesh, or pay the expenses of his journey;' and family mediators came in between them, and settled it at two hundred dinars. The Jew paid another hundred and departed."

I have translated literally, without paying any attention to the English idiom, that I might give you a better idea of their manner.

The best imitators I have ever seen of the Persian writings are in the Turkish Spy. The tedious allegories of the Adventurer have not the least resemblance to them:—but why attempt at all to imitate productions so much inferior to our own? Nothing is so absurd that does not find admirers in Europe.

The Vision of Mirza in the Spectator, set all the literati a-dreaming; and for many years none of them would venture to write until they had first taken a nap.

This letter is already so long, that I must defer till my next what I have farther to say on this subject. I shall only say now, that the more I read, the more I am convinced of the justice of Monsieur Voltaire's observations, that the Persian poetry is something like the titles of their kings, in which there is "souvent question" of the sun and moon, or, if you please, "It is full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." I would not give a chapter of the Don for the whole of it.

The date of the preceding letter is not given. It was received in Glasgow in October 1787, and was probably

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written early in the same year; but the following tell their own tale, as well in this as in other particulars. They breathe a fine spirit of philosophy, as well as of disinterestedness and affection. It is to be noted, that though he first speaks of a fixed allowance as of an arrangement to be made by Mr. Munro in his father's favour, the practice of sending remittances home was not then beginning. He had lived, even during his maiden campaign, upon his pay; and all his extra allowances were regularly transmitted to Scotland.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Tanjore, 10th November, 1785.

DEAR MADAM,

THOUGH my situation is not such as I might have expected, had Sir Eyre Coote lived, yet I still look forward with hope, and do not despair of seeing it bettered. The only cause I have for repining, is my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune. Yet I cannot but think that you have many reasons for rejoicing. None of your children have been taken from you; and though they cannot put you in a state of affluence, they can place you beyond the reach of want. The time will come, I hope, when they will be able to do more, and to make the latter days of your life as happy as the first. When I compare your situation with that of most mothers whom I remember, I think that you have as little reason for grieving as any of them. Many that are rich, are unhappy in their families. The loss of fortune is but a partial evil; you are in no danger of experiencing the much heavier one—of having unthankful children. The friends that deserted you with your fortune were unworthy of your society; those that deserved your friendship have not forsaken you.

Alexander and I have agreed to remit my father 100*l.* a year between us. If the arrears which Lord Macartney detained are paid, I will send 200*l.* in the course of the year 1786. John Napier will tell you the reason why it was not in my power to send more.

The writer of this beautiful letter was not aware, that at the very moment when he was congratulating his mother on

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the preservation of every member of the family, one was on the eve of paying the debt which all are doomed to pay. No great while elapsed, however, ere the death of his brother was communicated to him, to which he replied in the following manner.

TO HIS FATHER.

Cassimcottah, 29th September, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR last letter brought the melancholy accounts of the irreparable loss we have sustained in the death of poor William. Your former misfortunes might have been alleviated by the pleasure of seeing all your children in health, and by the hopes of their doing well, and being enabled to assist you:—but this last stroke admits of no alleviation. He who could have been least spared has been torn from you! He would have been the joy of his parents, and the friend and companion of his sisters. I vainly flattered myself that I should return home and spend many years in his company, and that I should rejoice in having a brother of such excellent dispositions and abilities. It will be long before he dies out of my remembrance. Every circumstance, every place where you were accustomed to see him, must place his fond image before your sight. What must you not all have felt in sitting down to table without him? I read with delight every part of your letters that mentioned his progress in his studies. When I began your last, mentioning your intention of sending him to London, I little thought that it was also to inform me of his death. I hope that you and my mother will be able to support this severest trial that you could have undergone, that it will be the last you will ever experience, and that the conduct of your remaining children will afford you as much comfort as you can receive after such a loss. Alexander, who was once so sickly, is now as healthy as any of his brothers. I had a letter from him a few days ago, dated the 6th instant, in which he mentions his having sent five hundred rupees to Calcutta, to be remitted to you.

I was appointed a Lieutenant in March last, and as there was no vacancy for me at Tanjore, I was removed to the regiment at Madras, where I lived three months with Mr. Ross. Your letters, which I then received, led me to believe either that Daniel would not come to India, or, at least, that he would not come till next fleet; I therefore applied to be removed to a Sepoy corps.

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I sailed from Madras the 24th of June, and soon after my arrival at Vizagapatam, I received a letter from Daniel, acquainting me of his having landed at Madras five days after I left it. I could not return to see him without getting leave from the General, of which there was little chance: besides, I had no money to carry me down, as I had left Madras with only six pagodas in my pocket. Although I had no money of my own, I had ninety pagodas, in bills, of the hundred that I received for Alexander's horse, about two years ago. I sent them to Mr. Ross, and requested that he would advance him the amount in money. I have not yet learned whether he has done so or not. I have too little knowledge of the different branches of trade in this country to point out to Daniel what line would be the best for him to adopt; his own inclination, and the advice of his friends at Madras, must determine him. If he goes to Bengal, Mr. Ross will recommend him to his friend Mr. Ferguson, to whom he may be of use in the great sugar manufacture that he carries on. I have mentioned this to him. I am only afraid that Mr. Ferguson may have no use for him, as he has already got Mr. Lennox for his manager. But I need not say any more: he will write you fully himself. Alexander writes me that he will allow him a certain sum monthly, until he is settled.

I have applied to return to Tanjore; if I succeed, I shall have an opportunity of spending a few days with Daniel at Madras.

My pay as a Lieutenant is thirty pagodas a month, and half batta, sixteen: but it has been stopped since the end of last year, and will not be paid till the Treasury can afford it. I shall always endeavour to live on my pay, and remit the batta to you, as it is paid. Mr. Ross sent you in March last, a bill on the Royal College of Commerce of Copenhagen, for 268*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* payable in London, at six months sight.

I do not know if I mentioned to you in my last, General ——'s offer of appointing me a cornet; as I was not in Madras, he made the proposal to Mr. Ross, who declined it, by the advice of my military friends. They told him that I would be a Lieutenant in a few weeks, when I should have more pay than a Cornet; and that, if he accepted the General's offer, I would be superseded by above a hundred Ensigns of infantry, who would be Lieutenants before I could be a Lieutenant of cavalry. The General said, that whatever Mr. Ross might think, it was intended for my good, and that the present difference in opinion should not prevent him from attending to my interest on a future occasion: but

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he has had the disposal of more appointments than any of his predecessors, and has found no one proper for me. Besides other posts, he has disposed of six brigade majorships, and five quarter-masterships, without ever thinking that the holding of any of them could be for my interest; though I had some kind of claim to one, from having acted on the Staff till the army was new modelled by General Lang. But though the General's conduct has not answered my wishes, I do not consider myself the less indebted to Mr. H. Ross for his friendly letter. I shall write him whenever I get his direction from Daniel.

It gives me much pleasure to hear of the sympathy you have met with from your friends on the loss of poor William, but particularly the tender attention that Miss Stark showed him during his illness. I hope that you and my mother, though you can never forget how much you have lost, will be able to support it with resignation. I intended to have written my mother, but as my last was to her, and it makes no difference to which of you I write, I thought it as well to answer your letter. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

This place is about twenty-four miles west of Vizagapatam. Direct for me in the 11th Battalion. There will be no need to inclose to Mr. Ross, as a post-office is established.

TO THE SAME.

Velore, 15th February, 1787.

YOUR two last have made me almost afraid to hear from you, which was one of the greatest pleasures I had on earth; for the one brought me the melancholy accounts of the death of a brother, whom, of all my brothers, if ever I felt a partiality in favour of any of them, I loved the most; and the other, of the friend whom, of all my friends, I most esteemed.

I cannot help being alarmed at my mother's situation: her indulging her grief so unceasingly must prey upon her health. I know the warmth of her feelings, and the strength of her affection for her children; but I hope her religion and good sense will enable her to bear with resignation the loss she has sustained. She has still many children left, whose cares and attentions, though they can never make her forget how excellent a son she has lost, may, in some measure, console her for that which is now irreparable.

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I mentioned to you in my last, that Daniel had gone to Bengal: he tells me in his last, from Calcutta, "I leave this to-morrow for Batavia, Malacca, and China. Mr. Graham proposed my going there for a voyage, with two hundred rupees per month. I was induced to close with it, from the consideration of its being an introduction, and as an opening to something more beneficial hereafter. You will consult Mr. G. as to the best mode of transmitting 150*l.* to our parents, and the earlier it can be done the better; I mean that that sum shall annually be paid them by me. As I shall be much at sea, 100*l.* per annum will defray my expenses. In addition to this, you will endeavour to get my allowances in the 36th regiment remitted." Daniel is generous and sanguine; and I believe that his wish to assist you has made him undervalue his own unavoidable expenses.

I must own that I shall advise him not to make any remittance till his allowances are larger, unless it be his pay in the 36th regiment, which I am afraid he will not be allowed to draw if he is long absent; for by distressing himself at his outset, he might get into difficulties from which he would hereafter, perhaps, find it difficult to extricate himself.

There are several other letters in my possession, dedicated to the same subject, all of them equally touching; but I abstain from inserting them, only because the limits of my work will not permit me to give more than a portion of Mr. Munro's voluminous correspondence.

In the month of August 1788, Mr. Munro was appointed assistant in the Intelligence department, under Captain Alexander Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the province of Guntoor. The following contains an account of the causes which led to that measure, as well as the writer's sentiments touching the policy and justice of the mode in which it was effected.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*The date uncertain, probably in January* 1789.]

The most important public transaction, since my last, is the surrender of the Guntoor Circar to the Company, by which it becomes possessed of the whole coast from Jaggernaut to Cape Comorin. The Nizam made himself master of that province soon

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after Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic, as an equivalent for the arrears of peshcush due to him by the Company for the other Circars. The Company not being at that time in a situation to compel him to restore it, he kept it quietly for several years; and though Sir John Macpherson sent Mr. Johnson to Hyderabad, to demand the restitution of it, he paid little attention to his request. But the Company, seeing their affairs again in a respectable situation, determined to compel him to deliver what they considered as their own property. They ordered Lord Cornwallis to intimate to him, that they were willing to discharge their arrears of peshcush, and to pay it regularly in future; but that the restoration of Guntoor must be the price; and that, in case of refusal or delay, their troops would enter the province in fourteen days.

Colonel Edington, with a detachment of a regiment of Europeans and four battalions of sepoys, being already arrived on the boundary of the Company's territory, on the 9th of September, Captain Kennaway, from Calcutta, presented to the Nizam a paper, containing a demand of the surrender of the Circar, a promise of a faithful discharge of all arrears, as well as regular payment hereafter, and notifying the time limited for the advance of the Company's troops. The Nizam, unable singly to contend with such an antagonist, and despairing of assistance from any of the country powers, (for Tippoo was unwilling to make any movement without the co-operation of France, and the Mahrattas were employed in expelling an usurper, and reinstating Shah Alum on the throne of Delhi,) submitted to the terms imposed upon him. He instantly issued orders for his forces to evacuate Guntoor, but, at the same time, protested against the violence and injustice of the Company. "They ought," he said, "to have paid their arrears previous to their insisting on the restoration of the country;—and what security have I," he asked, "that they will be more punctual in future in discharging their peshcush than they have hitherto been?"

It would certainly have been a more honourable and manly policy to have paid him, first, all his just claims, and then to have made the requisition. The consequence would have been the same, with this difference, that adopting this method would have raised, while following the other has degraded, the name of Englishmen!

The spirit of the nation humbled in the West by an unfortunate war, seems to have extended its effects to this country, in stooping to a timid, where a bold policy would have been equally

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safe. The apprehension, if any existed, was groundless, that the Nizam, if he had received the money, might have employed it against the Company, and refused to give up the province. The sum did not amount to the quarter of one year's revenue; and had it been ten times more, it would have availed little; for to a weak and distracted government, without an army, *money* is but a poor defence against a warlike and powerful enemy. He knew that resistance would be in vain, and that it would serve no other purpose than to afford the Company a pretence for withholding the peshcush of the other provinces. He was too wise to give them such an opening, and was no doubt happy to save, in some measure, his credit, by the consideration that they had some claim to the possession of Guntoor. His reply to Captain Kennaway's demand is sensible and candid,—it is the language of a prince, who feels that he is insulted without having the power to avenge himself. The perusal of it is affecting—it displays the humiliation of a great prince compelled to sacrifice his dignity to necessity, and to suppress his indignation at being told that this is done with his own approbation, and purely from motives of friendship, by the English. If I can get a sight of the original, and a few spare hours, I shall send you a translation of it.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

I subjoin three letters, two of them addressed to his friend Mr. Foulis, and one to his sister. They are written in a very different style, and treat of matters very different in their nature.

TO MR. FOULIS.

Madras, December, 1788.

Your last despatches left you (I presume from their contents) making a display of your loyalty, after the good old English manner, on the transactions in Holland, by getting drunk with a parcel of swaggering companions, ascribing the success of the Prussians to the spirit of the British councils, the majority of the people so much respected by foreign nations, and the five hours speeches of our indefatigable orators, so much dreaded by every Sovereign in Europe who has any taste for eloquence, and abusing the House of Bourbon, setting both branches at defiance, and manfully asserting that Britons were now as superior to them in the Cabinet as they had always been in the field. It is well

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for Master Bull that his head is filled with the same kind of fantastic visions that possess those men who are in quest of the philosopher's stone; for if it were not, the knowledge of his misfortunes must long ago have deprived him of the little sense he has left. Let him be mauled by every foe he encounters in the field; let disasters rain upon him as thick as Lairds in Scotland, and duped and outwitted by every one he treats with in the closet, yet, if his troops by chance gain a petty advantage, or if a negotiation in which he is engaged is brought nearly to the point he wishes, then Europe is swayed by his councils or trembles at his arms. I made allowances for your giving a loose to the exultation of your heart on the triumph over insidious France, obtained by a Prussian army inspired by British valour and directed by British wisdom, and therefore easily accounted for your not having written to me for some time past; but when I heard of the commotions in France, and of the fate of Du Presmenil and Monsabar, and the proceedings of the bed of justice, and saw Mr. Vander Spengel's treaty and no letter from you, I said with a sigh, "This likes me not;" for if he did not perceive in these events more danger to the prosperity of Britain than ever past times have witnessed, or perhaps future will experience, why this profound silence? He is certainly alarmed, and no wonder, for even I, unskilled as I am in political phenomena, think I see some cause for serious apprehensions for the safety of the empire. I wish Louis may avail himself of the powerful engine he has in his hands, a standing army, to crush the mutineers of his parliament; for if they carry their point of establishing a free Government, commerce will become as honourable among them as it is in England, and France will then prove by sea what she is now by land, the greatest power in the world; and you and I may live to see Britain stripped of all her foreign dominions; her free-born sons restrained from quitting their barren isle without a French passport, and left to talk of the empires they once held in the East and West, and their empire of the sea, when no trace of it remains; but "Come cheer up, my lads," and "Rule Britannia." To avert such evils as these, I would recommend to you and your loyal party to drink prosperity to Louis and confusion to his parliament, for every means ought to be taken to discourage and suppress the spirit of liberty in a nation that is so formidable a rival as France.

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TO THE SAME.

Amboor, April 2, 1790.

If, like you, I were liable to be possessed by blue or any other devils, the situation of affairs in France would be more likely than any thing besides to produce such an event, for as a friend to the glory and prosperity of Britain, I cannot behold with indifference the restoration of French liberty. That nation, already too powerful, wanted nothing but a better form of Government to render her the arbiter of Europe; and the convulsions attending so remarkable a revolution having subsided, France will soon assume that rank to which she is entitled from her resources, and the enterprising genius of her inhabitants. You and I may live to see the day when the fairest provinces of India (reversing Mr. Gibbon's boast) shall not be subject to a company of merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean; but when, perhaps, those merchants and their countrymen, being confined by the superior power of their rival to the narrow limits of their native isle, shall sink into the insignificance from which they were raised by their empire of the sea. With the freedom of our Government we may retain our orators, our poets, and historians, but our domestic transactions will afford few splendid materials for the exercise of genius or fancy, and with the loss of empire we must relinquish, however reluctantly, the idea so long and so fondly cherished by us all, of our holding the balance of power. In looking forward to the rising grandeur of France, I am not influenced by any groundless despondency, but I judge of the future from the past; and when I consider that after the Revolution she opposed for some time, successfully, the united naval powers of England and Holland; that she did the same under Queen Anne, and under George II. till fifty-nine; and that notwithstanding the almost total annihilation of her marine in that war—in the East, in Europe, America, and the West Indies, she never shunned, and sometimes sought our fleets, and met us in this country (the East Indies), if not with superior force, at least with superior fortune, and perhaps bravery;—that she made all those exertions when she was left to the mercy of capricious women, who made and unmade ministers, generals, and admirals almost every month, and when commerce and even the naval profession met with no encouragement; I cannot but fear that when she shall direct her attention to the sea, she may wrest from Britain her empire of that element, and strip her of all her foreign

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possessions. When two countries have made nearly the same progress in the arts of peace and war, and when there is no material difference in the constitution of their governments, that which possesses the greatest population, and the most numerous resources from the fertility of her soil, must in the end prevail over her rival. But let us leave this struggle with France, which I hope is yet at some distance, and talk of the affair which we have now upon our hands with Tippoo, &c. &c.

Madras, 23d January, 1789.

MY DEAR ERSKINE,

NOT a scrap from you for almost two years; but my father, by sending me your fragment on Old Maids, has taken care to let me see that you are taken up with matters nearer home, than writing letters to me. Since reading this poem, I have often wished that you were transported for a few hours to my room, to be cured of your Western notions of Eastern luxury, to witness the forlorn condition of old bachelor Indian officers; and to give them also some comfort in a consolatory fragment. You seem to think that they live like those satraps that you have read of in plays; and that I in particular hold my state in prodigious splendour and magnificence—that I never go abroad unless upon an elephant, surrounded with a crowd of slaves—that I am arrayed in silken robes, and that most of my time is spent in reclining on a sofa, listening to soft music, while I am fanned by my officious pages; or in dreaming, like Richard, under a canopy of state. But while you rejoice in my imaginary greatness, I am most likely stretched on a mat, instead of my real couch; and walking in an old coat, and a ragged shirt, in the noonday sun, instead of looking down from my elephant, invested in my royal garments. You may not believe me when I tell you, that I never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, till I came to India,—that since then, I have frequently met with the first three, and that the last has been my constant companion. If you wish for proofs, here they are.—I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvass, stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff in the basket,—hilt to point,—and very comfortable, I

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assure you, all but my feet; for the tailor, not having foreseen the various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. This bed served me till Alexander went last to Bengal, when he gave me an Europe camp-couch. On this great occasion I bought a pillow and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillow-cases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I laid my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with moderation; I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose I bought two table-spoons, and two tea-spoons, and another chair, —for I had but one before—a table, and two table-cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for, in less than three months, I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken by one of John Napier's companions. This great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain.

My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been able to keep it all of a piece; it grows tattered in one quarter, while I am establishing funds to repair it in another; and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off, to try on a new waistcoat.

My travelling expeditions have never been performed with much grandeur or ease. My only conveyance is an old horse, who is now so weak, that, in all my journeys, I am always obliged to walk two-thirds of the way; and if he were to die, I would give my kingdom for another, and find nobody to accept of my offer. Till I came here, I hardly knew what walking was. I have often walked from sunrise to sunset, without any other refreshment than a drink of water; and I have traversed on foot, in different directions, almost every part of the country, between Vizagapatam and Madura, a distance of eight hundred miles.

My house at Velore consists of a hall and a bed-room. The former contains but one piece of furniture,—a table; but on entering the latter, you would see me at my writing-table, seated on my only chair, with the old couch behind me, adorned with a carpet and pillow: on my right hand a chest of books, and on my left two trunks; one for holding about a dozen changes of linen, and the other about half-a-dozen of plates, knives and

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forks, &c. This stock will be augmented on my return by a great acquisition, which I have made here,—six tea-spoons and a pair of candlesticks, bought at the sale of the furniture of a family going to Europe. I generally dine at home about three times in a month, and then my house looks very superb; every person on this occasion bringing his own chair and plate.

As I have already told you that I am not Aladdin with the wonderful lamp, and that, therefore, I keep neither pages, nor musicians, nor elephants, you may perhaps, after having had so particular an account of my possessions, wish to know in what manner I pass my leisure hours. How this was done some years ago, I scarcely remember; but for the last two years that I have been at Velore, I could relate the manner in which almost every hour was employed.

Seven was our breakfast-hour, immediately after which I walked out generally alone; and though ten was my usual hour of returning, I often wandered about the fields till one; but when I adhered to the rules I had laid down for myself, I came home at ten and read Persian till one, when I dressed and went to dinner. Came back before three; sometimes slept half an hour, sometimes not, and then wrote or talked Persian and Moors till sunset, when I went to the parade, from whence I set out with a party to visit the ladies, or to play cards at the commanding officer's. This engaged me till nine, when I went to supper, or more frequently returned home without it, and read politics and nonsense till bed-time, which, according to the entertainment which I met with, happened sometime between eleven and two. I should have mentioned fives as an amusement that occupied a great deal of my time. I seldom missed above two days in a week at this game, and always played two or three hours at a time, which were taken from my walks and Persian studies. Men are much more boyish in this country than in Europe, and, in spite of the sun, take, I believe, more exercise, and are, however strange it may appear, better able to undergo fatigue, unless on some remarkably hot days. I never could make half the violent exertions at home that I have made here. My daily walks were usually from four to twelve miles, which I thought a good journey in Scotland. You see children of five or six years of age following the camp, and marching fifteen or sixteen miles a-day with the same ease as their fathers.

I have almost as much local attachment to Velore as to Northside; for it is situated in a delightful valley, containing all the

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varieties of meadows, groves, and rice-fields. On every side you see romantic hills, some near, some distant, continually assuming new forms as you advance or retire. All around you is classic ground in the history of this country; for almost every spot has been the residence of some powerful family, now reduced to misery by frequent revolutions, or the scene of some important action in former wars.

Not with more veneration should I visit the field of Marathon, or the capitol of the ancient Romans, than I tread on this hallowed ground; for, in sitting under a tree, and while listening to the disastrous tale of some noble Moorman, who relates to you the ruin of his fortune and his family, to contemplate by what strange vicissitudes you and he, who are both originally from the North of Asia, after a separation of so many ages, coming from the most opposite quarters, again meet in Hindostan to contend with each other—this is to me wonderfully solemn and affecting.

Soon after the preceding letter was written, Mr. Munro set out for Amboor, where he continued to do duty, in his new capacity, till the year 1790. This was a period of no common interest. Among other arrangements entered into with the Nizam, it was stipulated, that a corps, to be lent to him as often as his circumstances might require, by the British Government, should not be employed against any power in alliance with the Company; and the powers thus honoured with a friendly title were explicitly enumerated. The name of Tippoo was not found in the list; and that prince, well aware that he was an object of jealousy both to the Mahrattas and to the Nizam, experienced, as it was natural that he should, considerable uneasiness at the omission. He began to arm, and his movements were before long of such a nature as to leave no doubt of the hostility of his designs towards the Carnatic. Though there was no such apprehension of a war now, as there had been ten years previously, to preserve peace by every honourable means was the decided policy of the East India Company; and this they hoped to effect, not so much by the assumption of a formidable, though a defensive, attitude, as by keeping up what was termed the "balance of power" among the native states. To reduce Tippoo

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therefore entirely, was esteemed a measure fraught with no less danger than to permit his pushing his conquests too far. He was regarded as an excellent check upon the Mahrattas, as well as a rival to the Company itself, which would have kept him so, had not his own precipitancy plunged him into hostilities with the English nation.

The following letter from Mr. Munro to his father contains so many striking truths, and exhibits so fair a specimen of the writer's method of thinking and reasoning on all subjects, that I cannot refuse to it a place in these pages. It will be seen, that the experience which he had by this time acquired, encouraged him to take wider views, and to deliver more decided opinions, on the transactions passing around him; that the justice of his conclusions have been fully confirmed by the event; and that the conclusions themselves are in many respects not less applicable to the state of the Company's affairs at this moment, than they were when originally drawn.

TO HIS FATHER.

Amboor, 17th January, 1790.

Tippoo, after having been for the last two years employed in suppressing a rebellion among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, has at length turned his arms against the King of Travancore. His design against this prince has been known above a year in every part of India; and Government, on their part, have not failed to demand explanations, and to trust, as usual, more to assurances, so often broken, than to the more certain evidence of his ambition, and the hostile movements of his armies. It is above a year since the King of Travancore, seeing the storm gathering, requested that two battalions of sepoys, to be paid by him, might be sent to his assistance: his demand was complied with; and he hoped that the presence of these troops would either deter Tippoo from attacking him, or at least induce his allies, the English, to support him in the event of a war. Experience has already shown that he was mistaken in the first instance: how far he was right in the second, a few days must now determine. His country is naturally strong, and his people are warlike; but,

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unassisted, he will not long be able to contend with his powerful antagonist. His dominions are entirely surrounded by a range of mountains and the sea, except an opening to the north, of about ten miles, between the termination of the hills and the Malabar shore. This space is defended by a high mound of earth planted with a thick bamboo hedge, and is farther secured by the fort of Cranganore, which the Dutch sold last year to the King of Travancore. On this transaction Tippoo grounds his reasons for now commencing hostilities, asserting that the Rajah of Cochin, being his vassal, had no right to sell it to the Dutch without his approbation, nor they to another power. He demanded its restoration some months ago, and was refused by the King. The Government have signified to him their intention of not supporting him in maintaining any acquisitions he may have made since the last peace. They at the same time wrote to Tippoo, telling him that their ally, the King, was under great alarm at his assembling an army on his frontiers; but testifying their own confidence in his pacific disposition. Tippoo was not yet ready for action, and therefore replied, that nothing was farther from his thoughts than war; but having at length completed the reduction of his rebellious subjects, he turned his arms instantly to the southward, and cannonaded and stormed the Travancore lines on the 29th of December, but was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men. A second attack is daily expected; and if the King is left alone, all his exertions against a power so superior can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked; and it is said that they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn; for the present is the only moment in which the aid of such a handful of men can be effectual. The barrier once forced, orders for them to act will arrive too late. All their efforts will then avail but little against the numbers of their enemies, and will only serve to draw a heavier vengeance on themselves and the unfortunate Rajah.

The distinction made between recent acquisition and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace; for Cranganore was a fair purchase of the Dutch from the Rajah of Cochin, subject, however, to an annual tribute of thirty-five rupees. And Tippoo, after the conquest of that prince's country, could not,

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with any colour of justice, as long as he received the annual acknowledgment paid to the former sovereign, hinder the Dutch from selling it.

Should the English determine to support their ally, they could not wish for a more favourable conjuncture than the present. The Nizam, afraid of the growing power of Tippoo, and his former caution increased with years, would remain neuter; and the Mahrattas, during the present unsettled state of affairs at Delhi, and their disputes with the Rajah of Jaipore, and other princes of the North of India, would hardly engage in new wars, unless with the view of regaining the provinces wrested from them by Hyder. The flame of rebellion, too, being scarcely extinguished in his own dominions, all the Nairs, from Mangalore to Cochin, would crowd in arms to the standard of an invading army. But for this invasion I fear that we are not yet in the state of readiness which we ought to be. It will require some time to assemble an army able to face the enemy; and before such an army can be put in motion, Tippoo may be in actual possession of Travancore and all the southern countries. We have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune. The year 1790 now sees us as unprepared as the year 1780 did for war. We have added to the numbers of our army, but not to its strength, by bringing so many regiments from Europe; for so great a number of Europeans serve only to retard the operations of an Indian army, less by their inability to endure the fatigues of the field, than by the great quantity of cattle which is requisite to convey their provisions and equipage. No addition has been made to our sepoys, on whom we have long depended, and may still with security depend, for the preservation of our empire in this country. We have, therefore, made our army more expensive and numerous, though less calculated for the purposes of war, than formerly, both on account of the multitude of Europeans, and the want of cattle. We keep up, it is true, a small establishment of bullocks, but hardly sufficient to draw the guns, far less to transport the prodigious quantity of stores and provisions which follow an army. Had half the money, idly thrown away in sending a naval squadron, and four additional regiments to this country, been employed in increasing the establishment of sepoys and cattle, we should then have had an army which, for its lightness and capacity for action, would have broken the power of our formidable rival.

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Exclusive of the unwieldiness of our army, we shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines, for we have none at present but at Madras. Since the conclusion of the late war, we have acted as if we had been to enjoy a perpetual peace. The distresses and difficulties which we then encountered, from the want of them, has not cured us of the narrow policy of preferring a present small saving, to a certain though future great and essential advantage. The money disbursed on such an occasion would have been amply repaid by the facility which it would have given to our warlike operations. Magazines at this place, for instance, would have prevented us from being obliged to leave Madras encumbered with a great quantity of stores and provisions; from being forced to fight in that situation, and after losing half of them, compelled to return for a supply—would have brought us one hundred and thirty miles nearer the enemy's frontiers, and by that means have rendered it unnecessary to have carried any great store of grain, as we should have found it every where in the Mysore country, and would have enabled us to have reduced the whole of Tippoo's dominions in one, or, at most, in two campaigns. It may be thought that Tippoo, on our entering his territories, would cut off all supplies of provisions; but this is not so easily to be done as may at first sight appear. It is not here as in Europe, where they have only one harvest. Every month produces a crop of some kind of grain or other, which would serve for the subsistence of our army; or if that was not sufficient, we should find enough in every little village. Tippoo, it may be said, might burn the standing grain, as well as that laid up in the villages. The former he might soon destroy, but not the latter, because it is not at all collected in a public magazine, but every man has as much as will support his family throughout the year concealed in pits, in his own house; and the quantity is very considerable, as grain is the only food of the inhabitants; but Tippoo, in burning the grain, would distress himself more than us; for having little intercourse with other nations, and his own being almost entirely composed of husbandmen, he would deprive himself of the principal source of his revenue. Besides, if he laid waste the open country, he must collect great magazines, in a few of his principal forts, to supply his numerous armies; and whenever any one of them fell, it would give us the means of fixing ourselves firmly in his country; for that which would subsist his army for a month, would maintain ours for a year.

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It would therefore have been more wise to have made these preparations, which would have facilitated the movements of the army, than to have increased its unwieldy force. It was not men that we wanted,—for we were strong enough before to fight and beat the enemy,—but the power of giving action and energy to the force in our hands; for it is an army that, while it is strong enough to face our enemy, is also able to march with rapidity, that can alone be formidable to him.

Notwithstanding our unprepared state, our force is so superior, and our advantage so great in having the choice of entering any part of his dominions, that many are of opinion, that were we now to proceed with despatch to form magazines, and to commence the war with vigour, we might, without any great display of military talents, conclude it with the subversion of the rising empire of our most inveterate enemy.

It has long been admitted as an axiom in politics, by the directors of our affairs, both at home and in this country, that Tippoo ought to be preserved as a barrier between us and the Mahrattas. This notion seems to have been at first adopted without much knowledge of the subject, and to have been followed without much consideration. It is to support a powerful and ambitious enemy, to defend us from a weak one. From the neighbourhood of the one, we have every thing to apprehend; from that of the other, nothing. This will be clearly understood, by reflecting for a moment on the different constitutions of the two governments. The one, the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world, in which every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Hyder, and in which all pretensions revived from high birth being discouraged, all independent chiefs and Zemindars subjected or extirpated, justice severely and impartially administered to every class of people, a numerous and well-disciplined army kept up, and almost every employment of trust or consequence conferred on men raised from obscurity, gives to the government a vigour hitherto unexampled in India. The other, composed of a confederacy of independent chiefs, possessing extensive dominions, and numerous armies, now acting in concert, now jealous of each other, and acting only for their own advantage, and at all times liable to be detached from the public cause, by the most distant prospect of private gain, can never be a very dangerous enemy to the English. The first is a government of conquest; the last, merely of plunder and depredation. The character of

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vigour has been so strongly impressed on the Mysore government by the abilities of its founders, that it may retain it, even under the reign of a weak prince, or a minor. But the strength of the supreme Mahratta government is continually varying, according to the disposition of its different members, who sometimes strengthen it by union, and sometimes weaken it by defection, or by dividing their territories among their children.

That nation likewise maintains no standing army, adopts none of the European modes of discipline, and is impelled by no religious tenets to attempt the extirpation of men of a different belief. But Tippoo supports an army of 110,000 men, a large body of which is composed of slaves, called Chelas, trained on the plan of the Turkish janizaries, and follows with the greatest eagerness every principle of European tactics. He has even gone so far as to publish a book for the use of his officers, a copy of which is now in my possession, containing, besides the evolutions and manœuvres usually practised in Europe, some of his own invention, together with directions for marching, encamping, and fighting, and he is, with all his extraordinary talents, a furious zealot in a faith which founds eternal happiness on the destruction of other sects.

An opportunity for humbling an enemy so dangerous, and so implacable, has now appeared; and had we been in the state of readiness for action which good policy demanded of us, one army might have entered the Coimbatore country, and another set down before Bangalore, almost before he could have opposed us. But so far from this, no army is yet likely to assemble; and it was with much difficulty that Colonel Musgrave prevailed on the Governor to send the 36th regiment, two battalions of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry, and a company of artillery, to Trichinopoly; but the troops there, even when joined by this detachment, will not form an army that will be able to act offensively.

Our operations will be still farther impeded by the reference which it will, most likely, be judged expedient to make to Bengal, before we proceed on an offensive war. The public look impatiently for the arrival of ———, and seem to be sanguine in their expectations of the happy effects to be derived from the ability and exertions of so distinguished a character. Experience might have taught them, at least in this country, to build less on great names; for they have seen so many impositions on the understanding of mankind, invested with high offices, and recom-

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mended by common fame, as were enough to prejudice them against any man who should come among them with such credentials.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following extracts from a letter to his sister contrast powerfully with the document just given, and prove, that the mind which could thus speculate upon the rise and fall of empires, was neither insensible to the pleasure to be derived from a contemplation of the forms of outward nature, nor to the still more refined enjoyments which depend upon the exercise of memory and reflection:—

Amboor, 1st March, 1790.

I SPEND many of my leisure hours on the highest summit of the rock on which the fort stands, under the shady side of a bastion built by Hyder.

This spot has for me a certain charm, which I always strongly feel, but cannot easily describe. It is a kind of enjoyment derived from the wide view of the diversified country below me, —from the thoughts that its rivers, woods, and villages, give rise to; but above all, from the temporary return that I make to my native country, while memory contrasts the far distant with the surrounding objects.

While seated on the rock, I am, or I fancy that I am, more thoughtful than when below. The extent and grandeur of the scene raises my mind, and the solitude and silence make me think that "I am conversing with Nature here."

To the east, I see a romantic and well-cultivated valley, leading to the wide plains of the Carnatic. To the south, a continuation of the same valley, running as far as the eye can reach, into Mysore. All the rest, on every side, is a vast assemblage of hills and naked rocks, wildly heaped one above another.

I am so fond of my station here, surveying so many regions, and enjoying the refreshing coolness of the stones and the air, while the country below appears to be on fire, that I seldom quit it till the sun, coming over my head, forces me to descend.

I am particular in mentioning these things to you, because I know that you will be more interested in such little incidents as mark the turn of my thoughts, and the manner in which I pass my time, than in a thousand descriptions of the country and its revolutions.

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"But you must not suppose, from what I have said, that I am idle, and live entirely on the hill; on the contrary, I am so constantly employed that I have not time to visit it more than once, seldom twice a-week. My business is laborious in the extreme.

No great while elapsed after the date of this letter, ere Tippoo, who had for some time threatened the lines of Travancore, advanced in force, and carried them by assault. This was the immediate signal for a declaration of war on the part of the British Government. An alliance was entered into with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, each of whom engaged to furnish a contingent, whilst two large armies were commanded to assemble, one under General Meadows, the successor of Mr. Holland, at Madras, the other under General Abercrombie, at Bombay. These measures no sooner became known to Mr. Munro, than he solicited and obtained permission to return to his regimental duties; but before he could quit Amboor, hostilities were begun, of which, as well as of the events that led to them, he gives the following narrative:—

TO HIS FATHER.

Amboor, 22d September, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

My last letter to you was, I believe, written in April or May. I then mentioned the new aspect of affairs in this country, and some of the causes which appeared to have produced so unexpected a change. A correspondence was carried on between Tippoo and Government, from the storming of the Travancore lines, till the declaration of war; but having had no opportunity of seeing it, or even, from my remote detached situation, of hearing the current reports respecting it, I cannot pretend to give any account of its nature. I have only heard in general terms, that Tippoo first disavowed having given any orders for hostilities; afterwards acknowledged his design of driving the Rajah of Travancore from the territory which he had usurped; and, at last, threatened the Company with his vengeance in case they should support their ally. I am equally ignorant whether the motives ascribed to Mr. Holland for his conduct are founded in truth or speculation. That he raised his demands upon the

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Rajah in proportion to the approach of danger, is not improbable; but that he sold Tippoo a country which he meant to defend against his arms, is too bold a species of villainy to have ever been conceived.

The inactivity of Tippoo may have been the cause of our imputing to his political avarice a conduct which has perhaps been directed solely by the coldness and indecision of his character. All such intrigues, if ever they existed, will be sooner known to Parliament than to the public in this country. I shall therefore leave them, and confine myself entirely to the detail of military transactions, which have already, even in this early period of the war, been attended with some important acquisitions.

In a very short time after Tippoo's invasion of Travancore, a triple alliance was formed against him by the Company, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam. I am ignorant of the stipulated force to be furnished by the two last powers, but it appears, from their preparations, not to have been very considerable. It was foreseen that their usual delays, their dread of Tippoo, and the swellings of the Kistnah and other rivers from the rains which fall constantly and violently on the Malabar coast, though lightly on the Nizam's country, from May till September, would prevent their taking any active part till late in the season; and as Travancore appeared to be in the greatest danger, it became necessary to send an army as expeditiously as possible to the relief of the Rajah. Tippoo was already master of the lines, when Colonel Hartley, from Bombay, arrived at Paroor on the 23d of April, with the 75th regiment and two battalions of sepoys. This force, joined to the Madras battalions, could not save Cranganore and Paroor. Tippoo took them, and destroyed them; but he was deterred from advancing far into the country by the rivers, by the strong position of Colonel Hartley on the island of Bipeen, whom he could not easily attack, and was afraid to leave in his rear; and, above all, by the arrival of the English army on the plains of Trichinopoly. He began his march towards Coimbatore on the 15th of May, carrying with him all the guns and military stores which he had found in Travancore. Though every means had been adopted from the day of General Meadows's landing, to hasten the preparations in every department, the army was not ready to move before the end of May. The General joined it on the 24th, and marched on the 26th of that month, with provisions for forty days. Before he had advanced twenty miles, near twenty tumbrils broke down; and it was found that above one

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thousand bullocks were wanting to transport the grain and stores; he was obliged to halt some days, in order to get the tumbrils replaced from Trichinopoly, and to collect a supply of bullocks. Whenever this was accomplished, he advanced again; but either from the badness of the bullocks, or of their drivers, he made very little progress, not above five or six miles a-day; and even the bullocks were always sent back from the new to the old encampment, to bring on the half of the provisions which had necessarily been left behind. Twenty days were thus consumed in marching to Caroor, though the distance is only sixty miles. The garrison evacuated it on his approach. He halted there till some repairs were made on the works, and a magazine formed in it of thirty days' rice for the army, when he marched on the 2nd of July towards Aravacourchy, a place of little strength, garrisoned by a few poligars, who surrendered at the first summons. He arrived on the 10th at Daraporam, and found it abandoned. A few of the enemy's irregular horse were seen this day for the first time, and about fifty or sixty of them were killed or taken. Tippoo was at this time at Coimbatore with his whole force; and as a report prevailed, and was by many believed, that he had resolved to fight the English army there, the General threw the battering guns and superfluous baggage into Daraporam, and prepared to meet him as light as possible.

But Tippoo had already transported his army across the Bowanny, and ascended the steep defiles on the road to Seringapatam. On this information being received, the guns and baggage were again brought out, and the army advanced towards Coimbatore, to which place Colonel Floyd was sent with the cavalry on the 21st, to prevent its being burned by Seid Saheb, who had been left by Tippoo to watch the motions of the English, and who retreated as they advanced, halting generally at the distance of twenty miles from their camp. The unexpected approach of the cavalry prevented Seid Saheb from executing his instructions of setting fire to the town; and the army coming up next day, Colonel Floyd was detached in pursuit of him with his own regiment, and three of native cavalry. After marching thirty miles, he found himself, about ten at night, in the middle of a small horse-camp of the enemy. He dispersed the party, which amounted only to five hundred, and took thirty or forty horsemen. They informed him that Seid Saheb was encamped about eight miles off, on the banks of the Bowanny, with eight thousand horse, and a body of infantry, with guns. Thinking it imprudent

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to attack so formidable a force, and the spot where he was affording no forage, he fell back ten miles next morning, and wrote to camp for infantry and guns. On the 23rd and 24th, Seid Saheb passed the river on rafts; and on the 29th, Colonel Floyd, having been reinforced, marched in quest of him. When he reached the river next day, he saw his rear-guard encamped on the opposite bank: he threw away some shot at it, and returned to camp. The result of this affair occasioned much disappointment, and, as usual, a good deal of discussion. It was said on the one side, that Floyd had no reason to doubt the information of the prisoners, that the force of the enemy, as described by them, was too superior to afford any reasonable hope of a victory; and that the advantages to be derived from it, however complete, were not to be put in competition with the disastrous consequences with which a defeat would have been attended. But, on the other hand, it was observed, that even granting the strength of the enemy to have been as great as it was represented by the prisoners, we must give up all thoughts of maintaining by arms our power in India, if near two thousand cavalry, highly disciplined and better mounted than any in Europe, cannot face eight thousand half-armed irregulars;—that if there was a corps of infantry, it could have done him no injury, as he could have kept aloof on observing it, and retreated towards camp, where it would not have ventured to follow him; and if the horse had pursued, he would have had to do with them alone;—that no man of the least military experience would place implicit confidence on the report of an enemy, especially when it is well known that the strength of an army can never be learned unless from officers accustomed to look at returns of its numbers, and that all others exaggerate its force two and three fold, not so much from design as from ignorance, and not accustoming themselves to ascertain by the eye the numbers of large bodies of men;—that any officer who has had the smallest opportunity of seeing the erroneousness of such reports, would have made allowance for the ignorance of a marauding horseman, and reduced the strength of the enemy one-half, in order to bring it nearer the truth;—that the reports of the country people, the nearness of the Bowanny, (a deep and remarkably rapid river, over which Tippoo had, a fortnight before, transported all his infantry and guns,) and his own sagacity, ought to have taught Colonel Floyd that Tippoo had left, as it afterwards appeared, only cavalry behind; and that, on the whole, either from too much caution,

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or a want of 'field experience,' he, notwithstanding his zeal and gallantry, lost an opportunity, which he will in vain look for again, of cutting off to a man, without the least danger to himself, between three and four thousand of the enemy.

Colonel Stuart also returned to Coimbatore, about the end of the month, from Palgatcherry, which he had been sent with a detachment to summon; but the Killedar refusing to surrender, and having no battering guns, and the Malabar rains still falling with great violence, he found it would be impracticable to besiege it.

The distance of Tippoo above the Ghauts, which it would require many days to descend, and the strong situation of the Coimbatore country, defended by the Bowanny and the Cavery, at this time swelled by the western monsoon, encouraged the General to adopt the measure of dividing his army to hasten the reduction of several forts in that province, which were still in possession of the enemy. Heraie, a place of no great strength, capitulated to Colonel Oldham in the beginning of August. Colonel Stuart, with the 52nd regiment, the grenadiers of the first regiment of the Company, and four or five battalions of sepoys, opened a battery against Dindigul on the 19th; and the ammunition being expended on the 21st, it became necessary either to wait for the arrival of a supply, or to storm. The latter appeared most eligible: a party was selected for this purpose; it consisted of the 52nd, and the Company's European grenadiers, supported by the 20th and 22nd battalions of sepoys. The rock was so steep, that the troops were obliged to push one another up, which occasioned their advancing to the breach in small straggling parties, and their being repulsed with ease by a very trifling fire from the garrison. Some accounts say, that the breach was not practicable, the rubbish which had fallen from it not being sufficient to enable the men to mount to the top of the wall; others, that the breach was a good one, but the behaviour of the grenadiers shameful. They were saved from the danger, perhaps from the disgrace, of a second assault, by the appearance of the white flag on the wall by daybreak next morning. The commandant was an old man, who had formerly gone on an embassy to Constantinople. His garrison consisted of eight hundred men; but only one hundred and fifty stood by him at the defence of the breach; which induced him, it is said, to observe, in answer to a compliment of Colonel Stuart's, "that he would not have seen him in camp for three months, had he not been deserted by

his men." Much heroism was not necessary on the part of the garrison to have made good this assertion; for the works were found entirely rebuilt, and only inferior in strength to those of Madras. The loss of the storming party was inconsiderable.

A few days after the fall of Dindigul, Sattimungalum, a fort on the banks of the Bowanny, was taken by a detachment under Colonel Floyd. While a parley was holding with the garrison, a sallyport was perceived to be unguarded, and was instantly seized by Captain Stuart, of the 25th battalion; on which the place surrendered. The rains having abated, Colonel Stuart again moved towards Palgatcherry, where he arrived on the 9th instant. The General, in the mean time, remained at Coimbatore, as a centrical situation, to collect his army, or to support any division of it which might be attacked: he had with him two regiments of Europeans, and one battalion of sepoys. Colonel Floyd was on the Bowanny, waiting for its falling, in order to besiege Daniagancottah, or Danicottah, according to our maps. The General had forty days' rice in camp, which he was to keep untouched till he arrived before Seringapatam; and exclusive of this, a magazine of sixty days' rice was expected to be found at Sattimungalum by the 20th instant: no difficulty was found in getting it, for the country was as quiet as in the midst of the most profound peace. The few parties of the enemy's horse who had ventured across the Bowanny, had been dispersed, and two or three hundred of them killed or taken. Provisions abounded in the camp, for every thing was paid for in ready money; and the inhabitants were protected, by the strictest discipline, from every kind of violence. The Bengal detachment, which had arrived at Madras in July, was encamped at Arnee, under Colonel Kelly, and, joined to the 4th, 74th, and 76th regiments of Europeans, and the 21st and 27th battalions of sepoys, formed the centre army. Colonel Hartley remained in the neighbourhood of Cochin. The Nizam was cantoned at Pangul, on the north side of the Kistna. His nephew, Mahabut Jung, the Nabob of Adoni, was at Rachore, with about ten thousand men; and two of the Company's battalions of sepoys, and Purm Ram Row, the Mahratta, with a body of horse from Poonah, and the Bombay detachment under Captain Little, had just passed the Kistna; but all these allies, hindered by the rains, but more by the terror of Tippoo, marched at a great distance, till the English army should ascend the Ghauts and engage him, in order to decide on their respective operations. Such was nearly the situation

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of the different powers when Tippoo Sultan, with his whole army, marched suddenly from Seringapatam, and, to the surprise of every one, again descended the Ghauts, and attacked the advanced body of the southern army.

Within the space of a fortnight after writing this letter, Mr. Munro resigned his situation at Amboor, and joined the 21st battalion of Native Infantry, which formed part of the army destined, under the command of Colonel Maxwell, to invade the Baramauhl.

Of the military movements which ensued, the following extracts of letters to his father give by far the most animated and striking account which has yet appeared.

Tippoo left Seringapatam on the 2nd of September, carrying with him some of the light country boats, to transport his guns across the Bowanny; but finding on the road that this river had fallen considerably, he left them behind, and descended the Gujelhatty Pass on the 9th. A reinforcement of cavalry had, some time before this, joined Seid Saheb, whom Tippoo had left at the foot of the Pass in July. Colonel Floyd had received intelligence of this, and also of the approach of his army; but he gave little credit to them till the 11th, when they became more circumstantial; and on the 12th, not a doubt remaining of their authenticity, he despatched a sepoy to the General. On the morning of the 13th, he sent out his pickets to patrol; they were driven in by the enemy's horse; and Major Darley's regiment, which had been detached to support them, was surrounded, and obliged to take post among some enclosures, where it maintained its ground till it was relieved by Colonel Floyd with the rest of the cavalry, who dispersed the enemy, and killed about four hundred of them; and would have made a much greater slaughter, had not the closeness of the country prevented a pursuit. He returned to camp, and was at breakfast at nine o'clock, when two guns were opened upon him, and the enemy were discovered advancing in great force on both sides the river. The line was instantly formed, and a cannonade commenced on both sides; on ours, by twelve guns, and on their part by eleven, which, in the course of the day, were increased to fourteen. The enemy fired from a great distance, but with good aim; they disabled some of our guns, and killed many men. To answer their fire, it was

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necessary to give the guns a great elevation, which broke the axletree of one of the 12-pounders; and it being thought expedient to reserve a stock of ammunition for the following day, the fire on our side was discontinued at one o'clock, except, at intervals, a shot at such parties of horse as came near. That of the enemy continued without ceasing till sunset, when they drew off their artillery,—according to some accounts, behind some heights a few miles distant; and according to others, beyond the Bowanny.

Colonel Floyd, on their retreat, called together some of the senior officers, to consult with them respecting the measures to be taken: his infantry had suffered much, but his cavalry very little, having been drawn up in a second line, twelve hundred yards in the rear of the first: two of his 12-pounders were disabled, and many of the bullocks belonging to the other guns killed. Some were of opinion that all the infantry should be thrown into Sattimungalum, to defend it, while the cavalry should join the General, and accompany him to the relief of it; but it was judged more prudent by the majority, to withdraw the garrison, and proceed with all their force to meet the General.

The fort, which stands on the north bank of the Bowanny, was distant about two miles from the detachment; and Captain White, who commanded the 16th battalion, which garrisoned it, was ordered to join: he was expected at midnight, when the whole would have marched off, and, having so much the start of the enemy, could not have been overtaken; but White (who has since been permitted to leave the service) was drunk, and did not bring over his corps till daybreak. The retreat was instantly begun, but three guns, from the want of bullocks, were left behind; and more would have been left, had not Captain Dallas rode into the fort in the evening, and sat up the greatest part of the night making two axles from a wooden pillar, for the two 12-pounders which had been dismounted. They were not overtaken till noon, at which time Colonel Floyd, with all the cavalry, was two or three miles in advance of the infantry; for, not thinking that the enemy could come up with him, he had, after a few hours' marching, changed his original order of march, which was in a double line, or two columns, the infantry on the right, and the cavalry on the left, with the little baggage remaining in the centre, and gone on with the cavalry to forage. On hearing the firing, which was now very heavy, he hastened back. The enemy had cut off most of the baggage; they had brought their guns

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within two hundred yards of the right of the line, and enfiladed it as it marched through narrow lanes, among thick hedges. An attack had been made on two of them by the light company of the 36th, which was in the rear of the line, but they had been repulsed by superior numbers, with the loss of all their officers killed or wounded; and had with difficulty been twice rallied by Captain Brown, whose corps was next to them; but their fire had killed Burhan ul Din, the friend of Tippoo, and the man next in authority to him, while he was on foot urging the artillery forward. The cavalry had, at the same time, charged, and been beat back with great slaughter, leaving their leader, Hajah Aftab Khan, mortally wounded close to the ranks. He had been for some time in disgrace with Tippoo, and had taken this opportunity of trying to regain his favour: he was probably intoxicated with opium, for he cut at Captain Byrne of the 36th, by whose fire he was supposed to have fallen, when he stepped out to assist him. The infantry were now again preparing to move, and bodies of horse were collecting to charge them, when they should come on an open piece of ground near their left. Colonel Floyd came up at this time, and ordered part of his cavalry to charge the parties in the front and rear of the infantry. This was executed with so much spirit and success, that they never ventured near again; and, about an hour afterwards, left the field with their infantry, and the detachment continued its retreat to meet the General. The loss in those two days was one hundred and fifty-six Europeans and two hundred and eighty natives killed and wounded. This action, in its consequences, entirely deranged the plan of the campaign, and converted an offensive into a defensive war; and this was the more grievous, as it might so easily have been prevented.

There seems to be a fatality sometimes attending the greatest geniuses, which deadens the energy of their minds, and reduces them to the level of common men, at the moment when their best concerted schemes are going to be crowned with success. Had Tippoo acted with more decision on the 14th of September, by bringing up more guns, and pressing Floyd closer, he would probably have defeated him; or, if not that day, he would undoubtedly have done it the following; for not a man of the detachment had eaten or slept for two days, and they could have made little resistance to another attack. The General, who had gone by mistake, for it would be unjust to impute it to design, towards Daniancottah, could not have been near to support them; and,

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after their defeat, he would himself have fallen an easy sacrifice, for he had only three battalions of sepoys, and two of Europeans, without their flank companies; and even Colonel Stuart would have been fortunate, had he escaped with his detachment from Palgatcherry. The Colonel was so much convinced that these things would take place, that, on receiving information from the General of Floyd's situation, he made preparations for retreating (on the first accounts of the loss of the army, which he expected every moment to learn,) with all his force to Cochin. Tippoo, fortunately for us, did not act with his usual vigour, and the southern army escaped from destruction.

After the junction with Colonel Floyd on the 16th, the General advanced to bury the dead, and afterwards fell back to cover the siege of Palgatcherry, which surrendered to Colonel Stuart, after a siege of twelve or fourteen days, but only one after the opening of the batteries. It fell about the 24th; and Colonel Stuart, with his detachment, joined the army two days afterwards. Tippoo had taken possession of Sattimungalum, and was now to the westward of the Bowanny. The General marched on the 29th to force him, as he said, to fight, but Tippoo had very different views: he wished to turn the war from his own country, without putting any thing to the chance of a battle,—and he was not disappointed. On the General's approach, he marched to Erode, which he had before taken possession of, on its being abandoned after the affair of the 14th: he continued to retreat towards Caroor, followed by the General, who kept in his track till he lost it to the southward of Erode; but fearing that he was gone to attack a convoy coming from Caroor, he continued his route to the neighbourhood of that place, where he was joined by the convoy. He heard nothing, however, of Tippoo, who had struck across the country to Darapuram, which surrendered after one day's firing of musketry, and batteries being ready to open, to which, having no guns, it could make no return. The terms of permitting the garrison to join the army, were not punctually observed; for, after it had marched out, a clause was inserted, by which the officers gave their parole not to serve during the war.

Tippoo now hastened to attack Coimbatore, which had been his great object in this incursion; but chance, which has done so much for us, disconcerted his plan. Colonel Hartley had arrived at Palgatcherry, and detached the 10th and 13th battalions, which reached Coimbatore on the 6th. An attempt on the place

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would now have been in vain, for the garrison consisted of three battalions of sepoys: this alone saved it, for the General would have come too late: he did not receive the convoy till the 8th. The two following days he moved to the westward, in search of the enemy; but not finding them, and beginning to have some apprehensions for Coimbatore, he directed his course towards it, and arrived in its neighbourhood on the 17th. This was perhaps the wisest measure he could have adopted, as it brought him between Tippoo and the Pass, interrupted his supplies, and, with proper intelligence, might have prevented him from returning to the eastward. Tippoo saw the difficulty of his situation: he marched to Annymally, as if with an intention of going round by Calicut, and re-ascending the Ghauts on the Malabar coast; but he returned suddenly, and passing by Tripour, within a march of which the army then was, reached his old station near Sattimungalum; his evening gun, which was heard next day by the General at Tripour, gave him the first intimation of his return. The army had now consumed the forty days' rice which they had been desired not to touch, on the outside of the gates of Seringapatam. They had lost about twenty days more in the different forts which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were now reduced to the necessity of sending another detachment to Caroor for supplies: it was commanded by Colonel Trent, and marched on the 24th of October. It consisted of two battalions of sepoys, and was expected to return by the 1st of November, and join the army near Erode, which proceeded towards that place to meet it. The camp which Tippoo had occupied since his return from Darapuram, was within ten miles of the General: it was between the Bowanny and the Cavery: the left at Bonancoral, and the right towards Caveryporam. Here he formed the bold design of passing the Cavery, almost in sight of the General, and of marching against the Carnatic army, which had by this entered the Baramhaul country; he began to cross on the 31st of October, and the stream being barely fordable, it required three days to complete the passage. Whilst this movement was making, his cavalry, which had been left in the rear to cover it, appeared every day in large bodies near the pickets, which probably made the General doubt some reports which he then received respecting it,—for he does not seem to have believed it until the 7th, when the horse having disappeared, and Colonel Floyd having gone out to patrole, brought information of his having seen the track of the guns to the bank

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of the river, and of the whole body of the enemy having gone over some days before: however eager he was to follow Tippoo, he could not march until the 8th, for Colonel Trent had only returned the preceding day from Caroor. On the 9th the whole army was over, and next morning the pursuit after Tippoo was begun. In the mean while, the Carnatic army, under the command of Colonel Maxwell,—for Kelly died the day after he received the account of the attack on Colonel Floyd,—entered the Baramhaul on the 24th of October, and meeting with no enemy at Vaniambaddy and Trippetore, places defended only by a mud wall, it advanced to Kismagerry, which refusing to surrender, and being impregnable to any open fire, it proceeded to Caverypatam, which it found deserted. The day following, the 4th of November, Colonel Maxwell sent back a detachment to Amboor, for rice. On the 5th, he learned that Tippoo had passed the Cavery; but, notwithstanding this, he detached all his cavalry, about three hundred, a few days after, to attack a party of Looties, which he was informed was in a village about fifteen miles distant. They returned, luckily, without seeing any. The convoy from Amboor got safely to camp on the 11th, at three in the afternoon, and escaped Tippoo's advance, which was waiting for them, by coming back by a road different from that which they had taken in going.

The enemy, disappointed in their design on the convoy, formed one against the cavalry. About four in the afternoon a few Looties appeared. Torin, with his regiment, was instantly ordered after them: they fled, and he pursued without drawing a sword, and with only one troop loaded, to the distance of eight miles, when, on turning round a hill, he found himself close upon a body of two thousand horse, drawn up in good order. On discovering them he took to flight, and was chased to within a mile of the camp, which he reached with the loss of seventy men and fifty horses. When his flight was observed, the army got under arms, and many corps crossed the river at sunset; they were crowded together, and could not have acted to advantage had it been necessary. The enemy, satisfied with their success, had returned to their main body; and we, without venturing to advance to bring off the wounded, fell back to camp at nine at night. Our camp was in a valley, which narrowed from three miles, its breadth at the north end near Caverypatam, to half a mile at the south, near Kismagerry. A river ran through the middle of it, along our front, and round our left; in our rear

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was the high range of mountains which bounded the eastern side of the valley. On the opposite bank of the river, about a mile from our left, stood the fort of Caverypatam, which, though it could not have stood a siege of more than a single day, might have been a good post in front of an army; and beyond it were some heights which commanded all the left of the camp. It was supposed that Cummer ul Din was near us with a large detachment, and that he would next day cannonade us from them, unless we prevented him by taking possession of them before his arrival. The 3rd brigade crossed the river at daybreak on the 12th, and formed in front of them. At seven in the morning, the enemy were perceived advancing from behind a range of hills, about eight miles off: when they came within four miles they discovered the brigade; they stopped for some time, as if surprised at what they saw, and then filed off to the right without approaching our line: a few stragglers came near to reconnoitre, but the main body remained the whole day at the same distance. The 2nd brigade came over the river at nine o'clock, to reinforce the 3rd, as Major Goudie had informed Colonel Maxwell, that, from the dust, a very great body of the enemy appeared to be coming down upon him. They were satisfied with looking at us, and they marched off about four in the afternoon. We followed their example, which as soon as they discovered, a small party galloped after us, but never came within cannon shot. Many people said that the enemy this day had infantry and guns. I looked at them with different glasses, but could see nothing but cavalry, rocket-men, and a few elephants; and altogether their number did not seem to be more than two thousand. If Tippoo in person was there, as it is now said he was, it could only have been with an advanced party.

We remained quiet on the 13th; but in the morning of the 14th, the enemy were seen descending from the high ground on our left. The army, after some delay, was formed in the position which it ought perhaps to have always occupied. This was done by falling back from the left, or rather by changing front on the centre. In this operation one brigade passed the river to the right; the front of the line was to the southward, instead of the westward, and it was out of reach of the high ground beyond Caverypatam. The 1st and 2nd brigades extended across the valley, and the 3rd was in the rear as a reserve. The narrowness of the ground made it impossible to bring a greater force than our own into action against us, and Tippoo could not attack us

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unless he crossed the river with his right to engage our left wing, which it was idle to imagine he would attempt, as the repulse which he would undoubtedly have met with would have been attended with the loss of his cannon.

Three guns were fired in the course of the day at a few horse which were burning a village. The enemy contented themselves with looking at us till the afternoon, when they retired, and we encamped. It was confidently affirmed by many, and with the same confidence denied by others, that Tippoo was this day present in our front, with all his army. I could see nothing like an army. The enemy did not appear to me to be three thousand strong, nor could I distinguish either infantry or guns, though they had certainly some of the latter, as we afterwards saw the marks of them. I imagine, however, that they were only a few which Tippoo had brought forward to cannonade our left, and provoke us to cross the river, and follow him towards his camp, which was about ten miles off; he would have destroyed many of our men as we advanced, and his army would have been ready to receive us; after being nearly exhausted with fatigue, they might probably in such circumstances have defeated us; and if not, the country was open for their retreat, which it was not near Caverypatam, for they could have carried their guns only by one or two roads among the hills, several miles from that place.

The enemy gave us no trouble on the 15th; and on the 16th a letter from the General informed us that he was within fifteen miles of us. Tippoo was on this and the preceding day between the two armies; good intelligence and a judicious movement might have dispersed his army and taken his artillery. On the 17th, when the armies joined, he was supposed to have gone up the Pollicatt Ghaut. Though he was not ten miles from us, he wished to get to the southward before us; he therefore marched all night in order to gain the Tappore pass undiscovered. Our advance, however, saw his rear about eight in the morning of the 18th; and from the dust, they judged that a great part of his army was already in the pass. The rear was covered by about two thousand cavalry, which retreated and formed alternately, while our line advanced, giving them a few shot at the distance of twelve or fifteen hundred yards; they might easily have been overtaken, had not so much unnecessary delay been used in following them. The advance, which consisted of four regiments of cavalry, and three battalions of sepoys, could have reached the

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head of the pass at noon, and the army might have been there an hour after; instead of which, they did not reach it till near sunset, when most of the enemy were already through it. If they had advanced briskly, they would, without any loss, have got possession of all the guns in it; but the contempt with which Tippoo was once regarded, had unfortunately changed into greater respect than he was entitled to, and ambuscades were looked for in every wood. These two opinions have both been hurtful in their consequences,—one has laid us open to the enemy, and the other has hindered us from taking advantage of the critical situations into which he has sometimes been brought, either through mistake or necessity.

The preceding letter, which bears date, Camp opposite Trichinopoly, 24th December, 1790, brings down the narrative of events to the period when Lord Cornwallis's arrival at Madras produced an important change in the conduct of affairs. In the following, dated from Bangalore, the 2nd of May, 1791, a continuation of the same interesting tale will be found; and I give it, without presuming to make the smallest alteration either in style or matter, beyond an occasional omission of criticisms, which, however just, could not be intended by the writer to meet the public eye. After describing the various movements which led the army to Velout, where it arrived on the 27th of January, the preparations of the Governor General, and other matters of less moment, Mr. Munro thus proceeds:

The army, with twenty heavy cannon, left Velout on the 5th of February, and got to Moogly on the 17th, where a messenger from Tippoo delivered some proposals of peace to his Lordship. He was dismissed next day with an answer, that none would be listened to while he had a man in the Carnatic. Tippoo continued still at Gingee, perhaps with the hope that we would not venture to leave the Carnatic while he was in it; but finding himself deceived in his conjectures, he ascended the Ghauts with great expedition, and arrived at Bangalore only two days before us. We heard of it on the 3rd, at Oscottah. This place, and Colar, the only places of defence which we had met with on our march, had no garrisons but a few matchlock-men, and of course

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surrendered at the first summons. The army on the 4th, during its march to Kistnaveram, saw several large bodies of horse; and while it was encamping, Tippoo, with his whole army, passed to the north-east, about four miles from its left flank. It was suspected, that he meant to attack the rear or the baggage, and judicious dispositions were made to defeat both these designs. The army was formed on some heights to the left before daybreak, and halted till daylight to see where he was; but as he did not appear early, the right wing and the cavalry moved off with the baggage, while the left kept its position till they were some way advanced, and then followed. Just as it moved off, Tippoo came in view, and advancing rapidly, he opened ten or twelve guns; but with hardly any execution, as the wing seldom halted: his cannon were at last brought to a ridge, from which he was afraid to descend on account of some bad ground below, and his Lordship seized this moment to make the left retreat out of the range of shot. Tippoo fired a great deal, but at such a distance, that not above eight or ten men were killed and wounded; and the army, without any other impediment, continued its march, and encamped in the afternoon within a thousand yards of the pettah of Bangalore. The next day was spent in reconnoitring; and the cavalry, which went out to cover the engineers, received a severe check from the enemy. We lay to the northward of the fort, which is to the south of the pettah. To reconnoitre the eastern face of both, the engineers went out in the afternoon, escorted by all the cavalry, about two thousand, and three battalions of infantry, under Colonel Floyd. The latter allowed himself to be diverted from the business on which he had been sent, by the sight of some parties of the enemy's horse, to which he gave chase, and he soon found himself among the rear of their army, which was just finishing a march, and occupying the ground of encampment. They fled before him on every side: he cut in pieces some parties of infantry, took nine guns posted on some eminences, and was hastening to attack another height which he thought it necessary to gain, when he received a musket-ball through his cheek, and fell from his horse. He was soon remounted; but unable to speak, or make his intentions understood: from this instant every thing fell into confusion. It was beginning to grow dark; and the regiments, which had hitherto been charging separately, not receiving any instructions, or knowing what was to be done, mingled together in confusion. The enemy, at the same time, brought up some corps of in-

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fantry, and began a heavy, but distant and ill-directed fire of cannon and small arms; but this was sufficient to complete the confusion of the cavalry. The retreat which they had begun was soon changed into a precipitate flight. The ground which they had to pass, was full of rocks and ravines, into which many of them fell, and were taken by the enemy's horse, who pursued, cutting off all those who could not keep up with the main body, which never halted till it came to a height, to which Major Goudie, who commanded the three infantry battalions, had advanced on hearing the firing above a mile from the place where he had been ordered to remain. By doing this he saved the cavalry, for very few of them would otherwise have reached camp; whereas his fire soon obliged the enemy to retire, and he returned to camp with the cavalry. Floyd's wound was certainly the first cause of the confusion; but it is perhaps not going too far to say, that it was a fortunate circumstance: had it not happened, he would probably have pushed so far on, that he never could have extricated himself; for the enemy were strongly posted, and the flower of their cavalry, which was at some distance, was coming on, led by Tippoo.

In this affair about two hundred and fifty horses were taken, and about one hundred men; near two hundred were wounded, and fifteen or twenty killed. Tippoo sent back all the prisoners, after ordering their wounds to be dressed, and giving to each man a piece of cloth and a rupee. This behaviour, so remote from his general character, occasioned a good deal of speculation respecting the cause of it. Some said that it proceeded from his wish of reconciling himself, if possible, with the English Government; and others, that it was done with the design of attaching our cavalry to him, and occasioning a defection among them. Whatever might be his motives, he gained more honour in this affair than they did. The credit of the army was however restored next day by the infantry. The 36th regiment and 26th Bengal battalion, with the European pioneers and a detachment of artillery, stormed the pettah at sunrise. It was surrounded by a wide dry ditch twenty feet deep, and an almost impenetrable hedge, fifty yards broad, of thorn and bamboo. Opposite to the north gate, a bank had been left across the ditch: a gun burst the outer gate without difficulty; but the inner, though likewise soon broken, could not be opened, from a barricade of earth and stones having been thrown up behind it. In this service fourteen artillerymen out of twenty were killed or

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wounded; and Colonel Moorhouse, beyond comparison the most valuable officer in the army, received two wounds, the last of which proved mortal, and put an end to his life in half an hour. The guns being able to effect no more against the gate, the pioneers demolished a part of the mud wall, over which the flank companies of the 36th regiment rushed, followed by the rest of that corps and the Bengal regiment. The garrison, though it consisted of two thousand men, dispersed instantly, every man making for the fort as fast as he could. They took care, however, in their flight, to set fire to the magazine of straw, and every effort to extinguish it was in vain; and from this loss, the army, during the ensuing siege, suffered the most serious distress. At noon, Tippoo's army advanced from the westward, and cannonaded at a distance; but he withdrew in the evening, on hearing of the failure of his attack on the pettah. It had been foreseen that his approach was only a feint to cover this design, and a reinforcement of the 76th regiment and two Bengal battalions, had been thrown into it. A detachment from his army of four thousand chosen infantry, passing along the covered way of the fort, entered several streets of the pettah at once, there being no wall or ditch on that side. They were met by the 36th and 76th regiments, and driven back with the loss of about three hundred men, most of whom fell by the bayonet. The 76th lost forty men, but the 36th only four or five. Though Tippoo remained always near us, we saw no more of him till the 17th. The siege was during that period prosecuted with little advantage. The first battery was eleven hundred yards from the fort. This distant battery, which contained ten eighteen-pounders, was opened on the 12th, along with two enfilading batteries of two guns each. Its effect was just what had been expected; many shot missed the walls, and those which struck were too scattered to make any impression. The enfilading batteries, being within eight hundred yards, did considerable damage to the defences; but it became necessary to make a new breaching battery of nine eighteen-pounders. The spot chosen for it was within four hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and while it was preparing, two twenty-four pounders were opened within six hundred yards; but the besieged, as it might be supposed, paying no regard to our distant fire, which could not hurt them, turned all their guns against them, and in a few hours disabled one of them, and obliged us to withdraw the other. On the 16th, the nine-gun battery opened; and though the fire of it was so ill-directed,

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that Lord Cornwallis threatened to relieve the artillery on duty, unless they managed it better, it ruined so much of the curtains, that the garrison were alarmed, and called on Tippoo to make a diversion: he had been nearer us than usual the preceding day, and an attack was expected, but perhaps not at the hour that it took place. On the 17th, in the morning, Lord Cornwallis was visiting the batteries, when, about eight o'clock, fifteen guns opened suddenly upon the left wing. The nature of the country, which is full of hollow ways, had enabled Tippoo to advance unperceived, and the report of his guns was the first notice that General Meadows had of his being so near. The line formed without striking tents, and the troops sat on the ground while the enemy kept up a brisk cannonade, which, though distant, did a good deal of execution among the followers crowded together in the centre of the camp between the two lines of infantry, and it also killed or wounded fifty or sixty men in the ranks; which so far got the better of his Lordship's temper, that he determined to advance, and was giving directions to that effect, when Tippoo drew off his army. Then it was observed, for the first time, that a detachment with nine guns, supported by a very large body of horse, had been concealed behind a rising ground, and, from their position, there is little doubt but that they were sent there by Tippoo to enter our camp, whenever we should leave it to advance upon him: they would probably, in such a case, have taken some of our grain, and destroyed all our powder, which would have put an immediate period to the siege.

Tippoo retreated about one o'clock: had he waited half an hour longer, he might have had an opportunity of trying the success of his plans. A new battery of four eighteen pounders was opened next day within three hundred and fifty yards of the fort; two guns more were afterwards added to it.

The fire of the enemy was now reduced to a thirty-two-pounder from one of the ravelines, and a few small guns from the more distant bastions and some works in the covered way. An approach was begun, and at midnight, on the 20th, a parallel was completed within fifty yards of the sortie. At daybreak, Tippoo seemed to be determined to make a diversion in favour of the besieged: a detachment with four guns approached towards the pettah on the west side, another with ten or twelve guns was posted in a cypress-grove, about a thousand yards to the eastward; and at a little to the southward of it his whole army

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was drawn up. Whatever his design was, he relinquished it when we got under arms; and the right wing, under Colonel Stuart, advanced towards him: he was afraid, but I believe with little reason, that the Colonel would turn his right flank, and he retreated immediately to his old ground. The party in the grove, being covered by the fire of the fort, kept their station, and were observed all day to be busily employed in making embrasures in the bank of a tank to enfilade the batteries; and as three of the bastions of the gateway were now breached, and our powder nearly expended, it was resolved to storm in the evening. The troops destined for this service were composed of all the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army, supported by the 36th and 76th regiments. They were commanded by Major S. Kelly, under the orders of Colonel Maxwell, who, as commanding officer in the pettah, had the entire management of the attack. It was a clear moonlight night. They left the trenches a little after ten o'clock; and as they rushed forward by the sortie towards the breach, there was a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the ramparts and the covered way: after a little difficulty in finding out the road along the top of the works which formed the gateway, and passing with ladders some gaps cut in them by the enemy, they ascended the main rampart with very little opposition, for no considerable body of the enemy was formed near the breach; an irregular fire which had begun among them being soon stopped by the officers, they gave three cheers, which were heard as far as the camp: they advanced along the ramparts in two divisions, one to the right, and the other to the left, bayoneting every man they met: few of the guards escaped, for the ramparts were remarkably high, and had few passages for descending. The enemy made scarcely any resistance, but every man endeavoured to save himself: above three hundred were bayoneted in the Mysore gateway, the passage of which was blocked up by the throng that attempted to get through it. Above twelve hundred fell in different parts of the fort; and among them several women and children, but as few as could be expected in the confusion of taking a place at night by storm. The Killedar, Bahader Khan, whom Tippoo had brought with him from Tisnaghery, when he left the Carnatic, was among the slain: he had in vain endeavoured to collect a party to make a stand at the breach: he was forced to retreat, and was followed by two soldiers, against whom he defended himself for some time with his sword, calling for quarter; but they either did not, or pretended not, to under-

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stand him. They conceived him to be Lally, and they shot him through the head, and stabbed him in many places with their bayonets; his body, covered with a cloth, lay on the rampart the whole of the next day. It was visited by almost every man in the army, and all who saw it, were struck by the nobleness of its appearance. He was a tall robust man, about seventy years of age, with a white beard descending to his middle; and he was altogether one of those majestic figures which bring to the mind the idea of a prophet. All firing ceased, and in less than half an hour from the beginning of the attack, we were in perfect possession of the fort. Tippoo was soon informed of its fate, and he marched off immediately. The greatest part of the garrison, being in the covered way, made their escape to him: of two thousand that were in the fort, most were killed or taken. Our loss did not exceed twenty men. Lord Cornwallis had many reasons to be anxious for the fall of Bangalore. It was stronger than had even been supposed: the enemy had made near twenty embrasures in the bank of the tank, to enfilade the batteries; and though they could not have hurt the nine-gun, they would have silenced the six-gun battery, and killed many of the troops on duty, and he had not powder left for more than a day.

The country round the camp for several miles had been destroyed by the enemy, and presented nothing but a naked waste of land. All the forage found in the pettah had been consumed by the middle of the month. Five thousand of the public bullocks had died during the last ten days; and there being no slaughter-cattle now remaining, near a hundred carriage-bullocks were taken every day to victual the Europeans. His Lordship, from his uniform steady conduct, deserved success; he never lost sight of his object to follow Tippoo; neither did he in the different cannonades ever permit a shot to be returned; but some favourable circumstances, which he could not possibly have foreseen, also concurred to the accomplishment of his views. The enemy were surprised: they expected the storm on the 20th, and were prepared: but on the 21st, Tippoo having encamped within the range of their guns, they thought themselves safe, and took no precautions to defend the breach; and the noble ditch which surrounded the fort had not been carried in front of the gateway: had we met with it there, it is not unlikely that, before we could have filled it up, we should have been compelled, from want of ammunition, to raise the siege.

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The next extract is from a letter dated twelve miles west of Bangalore, 6th July, 1791. It is addressed, like the others, to his father, and carries on the military history.

After the fall of Bangalore, it was barely possible, had every thing been ready for advancing immediately to Seringapatam, to have reduced it before the time at which the western monsoon usually begins; but as it was apprehended that, in case of a rupture in Europe, the French would reinforce Tippoo, and as no great evil was expected to follow the failure of the enterprise, but the termination of the war from its success, it was determined to make the attempt. It was first of all thought necessary to join a body of the Nizam's cavalry, which had been for some time blockading Gunjecottah.

We left Bangalore on the 28th of March, and moved to the northward. Tippoo, who had marched the same day, not knowing we would take that direction, crossed our route by mistake, and lost one of his guns before he could get out of our reach. We continued our march, and the Nizam's General, Taje Wunt, after much irresolution, joined us on the 12th of April, near Chintomany, with fourteen thousand horse.

We reached Venkatgerry on the 18th, where we received a reinforcement, under Colonel Oldham, from the Carnatic, of five battalions of sepoys and a regiment of Bengal cavalry; but of bullocks, which were of no less importance than men, we got a very small supply. The number with which we had gone against Bangalore had scarcely been found sufficient for that service. Twelve thousand had died during the expedition, and they had not been replaced by more than three thousand. The distance to Seringapatam was double that to Bangalore, and there was every reason to suppose that the place itself was more capable of defence; yet we did not hesitate to advance, in order to besiege it, with slenderer means. We hurried away from the head of the pass on the 22nd, carrying with us the Nizam's cavalry; though we had already seen that they would distress us greatly by destroying our forage, as they would not venture beyond our outposts to collect it; and that they could be of no use to us, as the whole of them would not face five hundred of the enemy's horse.

We got to Bangalore on the 28th, Tippoo marching on our right about fifteen miles distant. His Lordship here found it

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necessary to call on the army to assist him in the grand design of reducing the enemy's capital before the monsoon. Almost every officer carried, at his own expense, two or three bullock loads of shot or shells, and the Nizam's troops alone carried five thousand eighteen-pound shot.

The army left Bangalore on the 4th of May, with fifteen battering cannon; and as it was known that Tippoo had laid waste the country on the routes of Chinnapatam and Shevagunga, which are the best and the shortest for armies to advance to Seringapatam, we chose a third by Cankanelly, which is both the longest and the most difficult, because we hoped to find grain and forage; but the latter Tippoo burned as we approached; and the country being narrow, woody, and confined on both sides by chains of hills, afforded little of the former.

After much labour and fatigue, and the loss of a great deal of stores, we came in sight of Seringapatam on the 13th, at a place called Arkary. We intended to have crossed the Cavery here, to join Abercromby, who had been for some time posted at Periapatam with a considerable quantity of rice and a battering train. The passage was too deep and too rocky; and there was no other below the fort, except one which led to the island, and which was covered by Tippoo's army in front, and by batteries in the rear. It became, therefore, necessary to dislodge the enemy, in order to reconnoitre it. They were strongly posted, with their right to the river, and their left among a range of hills which ran nearly parallel to the Cavery, about two miles from its bank. Their left being the only part of their line that could be approached, it was determined to attack them there an hour before sunrise.

The distance between the armies was only six miles, but it was ten by the road which led from our right round the hills to their left. Six battalions of Europeans, and twelve of sepoys, destined for this service, marched on the 14th, at eleven at night; but the roads were rendered so deep by an uncommonly severe fall of rain, that they did not come in sight of the enemy till seven next morning. They were then two miles distant, and we moved rapidly to seize a hill which commanded their left. Tippoo saw our design, and very ably counteracted it by pushing forward Cummer ul Din, who commanded his left wing, to occupy it—and favouring this operation by sending a body of cavalry to charge our right as it passed a ravine; which obliging

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it to advance cautiously, gave time to his own troops to take possession of the post, from whence they instantly commenced a warm enfilading fire, while Tippoo did the same in front.

We suffered a good deal while forming after passing the ravine. When this was accomplished, the hill was attacked and carried, and the enemy driven, though not without resistance, into the island. Tippoo had not more than three thousand horse in the field: he himself showed much judgment and decision in taking up his positions. This was to be expected from his character; but the conduct of his infantry excited much surprise. They stood the fire of musketry, often till our troops were within a few yards of them; they defended every post; they rallied wherever the ground was favourable; and, when at last driven from the field, they retreated without confusion. All this change of behaviour was, however, less owing perhaps to the improvement of their discipline, than to other causes:—the strength of the ground, which, being full of rocks and ravines, afforded them every where shelter, and made it difficult to follow them; and their proximity to the island, the batteries of which covered them from pursuit. Our loss was about six hundred killed and wounded, and theirs probably not more. We gained nothing by the victory, but the liberty of looking at the island; which it was not thought prudent to attack, as the lateness of the season, and the want of provisions, would not have allowed us to remain on it till the fall of the fort might be expected to take place. We halted some days, and, on the 20th, encamped at Caniambaddy, on the Cavery, eight miles above Seringapatam. A strong detachment of the enemy was seen next day moving towards Periapatam; and as, from the want of cattle, we could not advance to join Abercromby—and as the badness of the weather had put an end to every hope of being able, at this season, to besiege Seringapatam, we ordered the Bombay army to retreat, which they did, leaving behind them all their sick and their battering guns, several of which they did not wait to destroy.

We had by this time lost the greatest part of our cattle: the guns had for the two last marches been brought forward with much difficulty by the assistance of the troops, and the battering train had seldom got to its place before ten at night. The weather too, which had been unfavourable ever since our leaving Bangalore, had now all the appearance of a settled monsoon. The remaining bullocks, it was apprehended, would hardly be able to drag the field-pieces back to Bangalore; and we had only

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twelve days' rice at half-allowance. In this situation, it became absolutely necessary on the 22nd to burst our heavy cannon, to bury the shot, to throw the powder into wells, and to destroy all the other besieging materials. On the 24th, after repairing the passage of the ford, two brigades crossed to favour the retreat of Abercromby; and they were recalled the next day on the arrival of the advices of his escape. On the 26th, we set out on our return to Bangalore; marching but slowly, as the troops were obliged to assist in dragging the guns, and in carrying the sick and wounded, for whom there were very few conveyances. Before we reached our new camp, we were joined by a few horsemen, who gave us the extraordinary intelligence, that Purseram Bhow, and Hurry Punt, with the Mahratta army, were within a march of us. They had marched above three hundred miles in four weeks; and though they had despatched near a hundred hircarras to give us notice of their approach, the roads were so well watched by Tippoo's irregulars, that not one of them had ever reached us. Their coming, though too late to save our battering train, was, notwithstanding, a very fortunate event for us: they gave us provisions and bullocks, which enabled us to remain for some weeks in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, and to recover our half-starved cattle by the wide range which their cavalry secured to them for grazing: had they not arrived, it is not easy to say what would have been our situation now; we must have marched every day to reach Bangalore on the 4th, till which time we had provisions at half-allowance. Most of the remaining bullocks would have died on the road; and the troops would have got there with little else than their guns, which they must have dragged themselves. But as Bangalore contained but little grain, they could not have halted; but after taking out a small supply, they must have continued their march to the pass near Amboor. The Mahrattas would probably have kept aloof. Tippoo would have followed us, and would perhaps have prevented us from ever getting again beyond Bangalore, to which we should have been obliged to carry supplies, as we did to Velore in the last war.

From the date of the preceding, up to the month of September, when the army again advanced upon Seringapatam, Mr. Munro was employed in the arduous and hazardous task of transporting stores from detached depots into camp. It was one of the busiest epochs in his military life; insomuch

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that, as he informs his sister, "he was sometimes for seven days together without pen or ink, or any kind of baggage." Yet he appears to have found leisure, even then, to keep up a regular correspondence, not with his family alone, but with his friends. I select the following letters as specimens of the style in which that correspondence was maintained.

TO HIS SISTER.

Camp at Raicottah, 25th July, 1791.

DEAR ERSKINE,

MOST of the ships of the season have already arrived, but bring me no letters, except from you, dated in September, November, and January. You must not expect me to keep pace with you in returning letter for letter; my way of life has been, for some months past, too unsettled to allow it. I am sometimes, for several days together, without pen or ink, or any kind of baggage. I shall make up all my deficiencies at more leisure; and, in the mean time, content myself with saying a few words about the appearance of some unfortunate productions of mine in a London paper. I have not seen it myself, and I hope nobody else will. The war is in my favour, and will, I hope, prevent it from reaching camp. I never in my life was more alarmed than when I came to the passage in your letter which mentions it. I was almost as much shocked as any old lady is, when she reads that a ship was wrecked in the Chops of the Channel with five hundred poor wretches, and that every soul perished. The partiality of relations and friends has often distressed their correspondents in this country by exhibiting their hasty careless reflections to the public eye. There is always some mark which betrays the author to his acquaintance here—he is often injured, and always exposed to ridicule by the discovery. The ridicule of conversation it is easy to retort, but it is not easy to parry that which falls on the prediction of events which never happen, or the assigning of wrong causes to transactions which have actually taken place. It is of no use to the unlucky author that his opinions were at one period apparently founded on reason, when time has shown their fallacy. Every man, even those who had perhaps formed the same notions, (but not published by their friends,) fall upon him without mercy. The very name of Glasgow will expose the author "of the policy of reducing Tippoo;" for, in a small circle like that of Madras, not only the characters

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of the different members, but the places of their education, are known to each other. Kippen and I are the only emigrants from your town; and, unless I should have fortunately thrust into my strictures a quotation, or a few lines of poetry, nothing can save me from detection. I wonder how my father could have given up any part of my letter for publication, on any terms, far less on those of prefixing a sketch of the life of Mr. Blank, the author, of whom I suppose it is said, that, notwithstanding his deafness, he had a prodigious genius for eating milk porridge. Your letter was too late to stop a long letter written from Bangalore, about a fortnight ago, abounding in judicious comments on the past, and sage predictions of what is to come. It is, however, luckily in time to hinder the publication of a much larger work, of which the Bangalore performance contains but a few scattered hints. You have saved me from falling out of Scylla into Charybdis, which old proverb, translated by the moderns into the frying-pan and fire, I have thought it politic to introduce here, to the end that, in case you may be infected with the rage of publication, when this falls into your hands, it may disguise the author; for my friends, knowing that I have no acquaintance with dead languages, when they see these two ancient names, will acquit me of every suspicion. Had my long treatise on the war, which the post-master, by refusing it as too bulky, forced me to keep, and which your letter has shown me the propriety of destroying, ever reached the College, my friend, the professor, would not have permitted me to remain any longer as an humble letter-writer, but would, no doubt, have at once exalted me into a pamphleteer. The pamphlet is now, however, gone. There was no use in keeping it, when I could not venture to send it to those for whose amusement it was intended. It mentioned what ought to have been the general plan of the war; explained the impolicy of commencing it in Coimbatore, which, I believe, I took notice of before General Meadows joined the army; the propriety of advancing from the Carnatic to Bangalore; pointed out the mistakes of the Seringapatam expedition, as well as the manner in which it ought to be next attempted, and the government of Tippoo entirely overthrown; and, by a discussion of the nature of Mahrattah armies, their method of marching, and the way of supplying them with provisions, showed how little cause there was of apprehension from them. These, and all other political speculations, I shall give up, and confine myself, in future letters, to narratives of what has happened. To begin then:—

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The army left Bangalore about a fortnight ago, and moved towards Ossore, which was evacuated on our approach. Tippoo had almost entirely rebuilt the fortifications on a modern plan—and though part was unfinished, the place is so strong that a garrison was left in it to extend the communication to the eastward, which has within these few days been farther advanced by the taking of several hill forts near the entrance of the passes in this neighbourhood; and, lastly, by the acquisition of this place, with the loss of only one officer killed, and a few men wounded. Kishnaghery will probably be threatened, but not regularly attacked, as it is impregnable by open force. If by storming the Pettah we can frighten the garrison above into surrender, it will be very fortunate, for it will give us possession of all the country to Amboor, and opens the roads for the arrival of convoys. We have reports of ambassadors from Tippoo being on their way to negotiate, which I am sorry for, as it appears mere childishness to consider him any longer as a sovereign, who cannot preserve any part of his own empire by his own resources, or who ought to be maintained by our arms for the sake of visionary schemes of the balance of power. I wished to write you a quiet letter about the climate and the face of the Mysore country, but it is in vain that I laugh at myself for thinking so much of public affairs, which I cannot influence either one way or another. These ambassadors continually run in my head, and keep me in perpetual alarm lest British weakness and ignorance, under the names of moderation and justice, should re-establish Tippoo. When this point is settled, I shall write to you of ghauts and jungles, and all the wonders of this country,—all which I would gladly exchange for a family supper with the Miss Stirlings, followed by a bowl of their white rum punch, and a discourse on the virtuous characters of the days of Charles the Martyr. My mother need not be uneasy about my eyes; I now find no inconvenience in reading till midnight: another year will make them as strong as ever. Your friend Spiers is on the Malabar coast with the 14th battalion, which joined Abercrombie in his burlesque campaign. I wrote to him two or three times without receiving any answer, which may have been owing to the miscarriage of my letters. George Kippen has been for a few months past with a troop of cavalry, under Captain Read, employed in collecting grain for the army; his income, one month with another, must be at least three hundred and fifty pagodas. You have, perhaps, already learned the melancholy end of poor

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John Younge. With many amiable and many manly qualities, too much solicitude about public affairs made him too apt to despond at every unfavourable turn. The destruction of our battering train at Seringapatam was too much for him to bear, and he put an end to his life to avoid seeing the disasters of which he considered this step as the certain prelude. His fortune, about ten thousand pagodas, he has left to his sister. I have heard nothing of Daniel or Alexander for three months; but am not uneasy at it, as there has been of late but little communication with the Carnatic. In six months, I shall be worth about eleven hundred pagodas, which I shall put into some person's hands at Madras, to remit the annual interest to my father. It will be about fifty pounds sterling, and may be increased when I grow wiser, which you will think is much to be wished for, when you know that I might now have been worth treble that sum. I shall have no difficulty in a future letter of convincing you of the impossibility there has been for some years of my making any remittances. I have felt it the more, as it has laid James under obligations to a stranger in the pursuit of his studies.

Yours affectionately,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO MR. GEORGE BROWN OF LEITH.

Camp between Ossore and Raicottah,
10th Aug. 1791.

I DO not know if I have written to you since the fall of Bangalore. It is, however, of little consequence, as you will see all the particulars of that and of other operations of the army in the public papers. I shall content myself, at present, with a few observations on the general situation of affairs. Though we have taken possession of no post to the westward of Bangalore, and have fallen back from Seringapatam to the confines of the Carnatic; we have, notwithstanding, since the beginning of May, greatly reduced the power of Tippoo. The same severity of weather which destroyed half of our cavalry, and almost the whole of our bullocks during the expedition against Seringapatam, was likewise experienced by him; and if not with so great immediate loss, yet with greater in respect to the consequences, because we can easily procure both bullocks and horses; the former of which he cannot get without difficulty, and the latter he cannot by any possible means recruit. When we last saw his army on the banks of the Cavery, he had not four thousand horse,

and since that time the number must have greatly diminished, for he was forced to remain near his capital, exposed to the chilling winds of the western monsoon; while we, by retiring into a milder climate, saved a considerable part of ours. His supplies were formerly drawn from the territories of the Mahrattas and the Nizam; the war has deprived him of that resource: the only other, which was indeed but trifling, was drawn from the brood mares in particular districts of his own country; but this too, is at an end, for his enemies have seized them all. His infantry, as men suffer less than animals from the inclemencies of the weather, though they may not have fallen away in so great a degree as his cavalry, are no doubt much lessened in their numbers; nor is there any probability of his being able to make up the deficiencies, because the countries near his capital are entirely depopulated, and those at a distance from it are either under the dominion of his enemies, or his communication with them extremely precarious. The Mahrattas, on their march to join us, ravaged a great tract of country between Sera and Seringapatam; they followed the same practice on our return to Bangalore; so that between these two places, every village is burned, and the inhabitants have either fled to distant provinces, or taken refuge on the tops of fortified rocks. Chitteldroog, Gooty, Ballary, and Gurrumconda, are either regularly invested, or in some measure blockaded, by their neighbourhood being overrun by the horse of our allies. Except in those places which are far removed from the active scene of war, Tippoo has no magazines but at Seringapatam: the only channels of supply now open to him are Bidanore, and a part of the Malabar coast, from which he draws a few cattle, and some grain, perhaps not more than enough to answer his daily consumption. His army is too weak to approach us; but supposing it to be as complete as at the beginning of the war, how in the present state of things could he advance to the eastward, to interrupt our communication with the Carnatic? The fear of the Mahrattas would deter any thing less than his whole army from attempting it; but having no intermediate magazines, he would, in such a case, be reduced to the necessity of bringing every thing along with him from Seringapatam; but the great train of cattle requisite for this purpose would, by impeding his progress, hinder the execution of his design, which could only be accomplished by rapid movements; and, by making him incapable of marching faster than we, would soon constrain him to fight for his provisions, or to abandon them to save his army. It

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is therefore likely, that he will not trust himself far from his capital, that he may advance a few miles to the eastward for the sake of the health of his troops, and of grass for his cattle, and that he will again return, and shut himself up when we are ready to besiege him. He has not a man between Bangalore and Madras, and while the army remains in this part of the country, a very slender force is sufficient to cover our convoys. One is now on the road, and I have no doubt but that in little more than two months, we shall have enough for the grand enterprise against the capital, with the fall of which his power will cease to exist.

This is the situation of Tippoo. Compare it with ours. We are in the centre of his dominions, with an army as strong as when we first ascended the Ghauts, and which can be augmented, whenever it is thought expedient, both with Europeans and sepoys. To supply ourselves with provisions, we have not only the Carnatic open, but other resources, unknown to us in former wars; we have Bunjaries from Cuddapah and other northern provinces; and we have in the Mahratta camp almost every kind of grain, which, though dear, is perhaps, all circumstances considered, nearly as cheap as the Government could furnish it; and add to all this, that our own country, having seen no enemy since February, is cultivated in the same manner as in the most profound peace. We can never expect so many favourable circumstances to attend us again. The force of the contending powers is too unequal to make it be considered as a war; it is rather a Tanjorean expedition, which will terminate with the capture of a single place: are we then to forego the fair prospect of extending our territory, and increasing our power and revenue, because some people, who have heard of the balance of power in Europe, imagine that we cannot exist without it in India? Is not the present war a strong proof of the difficulty of preserving such a system? and may not such a combination as has now reduced Tippoo so low, become hereafter fatal to us? What happened last war may happen again, and with a less favourable issue. The timidity of the Nizam, and the divisions of the Mahrattas, then saved us; but the former may one day have an able successor, and the latter more union among themselves; they may then, in conjunction with such a Prince as Tippoo, conceive it to be politic to drive the English out of India, and divide their possessions among themselves. The most likely means to avoid such a contest would be to crush Tippoo, in defiance of all the

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calamities which an increase of territory and the destruction of a formidable rival are to bring upon us. The dominions of the Mahrattas are so extensive, and their Government so disjointed, that the acquisition of a part of Mysore would add little to their power: and with respect to the Nizam, the possession of Tippoo's northern provinces would form a very inconsiderable accession to his power at present, and might, in the event of his death, occasion the partition of his dominions, by holding out to the ambition of a candidate for power the sovereignty of a second kingdom, strongly guarded by the Kistna against the parent state.

But our strength and our security would be augmented in a very great proportion by the conquest of Baramahl, and Coimbetore, with a part of the Malabar coast; because these countries are rich, and our boundaries being extended to the Ghauts, would, by having so strong a natural bulwark, make it more easy to defend an enlarged dominion than what we now possess. Then it will be said by those who have read, in speeches, of the Mahrattas, that when Tippoo is removed, "they will hang like black clouds over the mountains, and pour down in torrents upon the ill-fated Carnatic;" the answer is, they will be too wise to try the experiment hastily; they know their own strength and ours, they therefore say little to us about Chout, and never trouble Bengal, though it has been frequently as open to invasion as ever the Carnatic can be. They know that it was Hyder who gave vigour to the grand alliance, and employed the chief exertions of the English armies; and they have not forgotten that we reduced Guzerat, the most valuable of their provinces, and that nothing but his successful irruption could have restored it to them. In Europe, and even in India, a great apprehension, but without any solid foundation, has been entertained of the irresistible force of the Mahratta States: this opinion arose with their Government, and was confirmed by their early successes, but we ought to remember that they found a favourable conjuncture for extending their empire. They grew as the Mogul monarchy decayed, and they found no rivals to oppose them, for they had effected most of their conquests, and arrived at their full vigour after the death of Aurengzebe, and before the appearance of the Nizam, Hyder, or the English.

The formation of these Governments put a stop to their progress, and their collected armies received a blow at Paniput which they will perhaps never recover. The armies of the

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Nizam want only a military leader to make them meet them with confidence. Tippoo has sometimes done it with success; and an English army would rejoice at an opportunity of engaging such an enemy.

But there are other ways, it may be said, besides mere fighting, of prosecuting a war successfully; by harassing the enemy with a hardy body of cavalry, by cutting off his supplies and detachments, by ravaging the country and forcing him to retreat. The Mahrattas, however, though always ready to burn the possessions of their neighbours, are not over-fond of destroying their own, which they would be obliged to do by adhering to this system of war; because, by having magazines on our frontiers, we could always penetrate into their country: if they do not burn, we could subsist at their expense; and if they do, they must either live on a small allowance of provisions, or carry a great quantity with their camp. But they are as impatient of want as any other people; and though their diet, according to European notions, is simple, they like to have abundance; they will therefore take care to have a large stock of grain with their army. A prodigious number of bullocks will be required to carry it, and their movements will by this means be rendered as slow as ours, and the advantages of rapidity be at an end. If they are overtaken and lose their bazar, their army will disperse till another can be provided; for they are not a people to sacrifice their conveniences to military achievements. I have heard much of the hardiness of what are called uncivilized nations; and I have heard of Tartars invading Poland, and living on snow; but these observations will not apply to India, for here the most regular armies are undoubtedly the hardiest.

The English army endure hunger and fatigue infinitely beyond that of any Native power. Tippoo comes next, and then the Mahrattas. There are other circumstances besides the above, which will make the Mahrattas cautious of entering into a war with the English. They are a commercial nation, and are sensible how much we could injure their trade: they enter into war only where they see a certainty of acquiring money or territory; but they have had too much experience to expect either from us, and after failing in the design of the Confederacy of eighty, they will hardly conceive that the destruction of the most powerful member of it should be the means of rendering them more successful on a future trial. The Nizam never can be very formidable; his dominions are extensive, and his revenues great, but

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his Government is feeble. A great part of his army are composed of Moormen of family, the bravest soldiers in India; but they are without discipline, nor is there any likelihood of their undergoing a change; none has taken place since their first connection with Europeans. If ever it is effected, it must be by their means; but the Nizam having now no seaport, has no intercourse with any of them but deserters, whom he despises too much to think of new modelling his army by their directions. The Mahrattas are too much attached to their ancient customs, to take any trouble about the innovations of Europeans. Neither they nor the Nizam have made any progress in the art of war since they were first known to us; and, excepting the instance of Scindia's vagabond legion, have shown no symptoms of change. But the case is widely different in Mysore. The well-regulated, vigorous Government of Hyder has, under his son, become more systematic and more strong; the European discipline has been more rigidly enforced, and all kinds of fire-arms, which were formerly imported by strangers, are now made by his own subjects under the direction of foreign workmen. He has, by various regulations and institutions, infused so much of the spirit of vigilance, order, and obedience, into every class of men, that he has experienced none of the accidents which always attend unsuccessful wars in Asia, the revolt of his Chiefs, or the desertion of his men. Whatever he has lost, has been owing to the superior power of his enemies, never to the defection of his officers; and even when forced to shut himself up in his capital, his authority continued so firm in the distant provinces, that the Mahrattas could not by any means convey information of their approach to Lord Cornwallis, or advise him that they had left Darwar, till they joined him at Seringapatam. He conducts the operations of war on regular principles, taking the forts, and securing the country as he advances; and add to all that, by destroying or expelling all the Rajahs and Poligars, by not permitting his great officers to keep any independent bodies of troops, and by paying all the military himself, he has adopted the wisest measures for securing to his descendants the undisturbed possession of his dominions. It is from a power constituted like this, and not from the Mahrattas, or the Nizam, that the English have any just ground for apprehension. He will ever be their irreconcileable enemy, because they are the great obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs, and he will be always ready to join or to lead any confederacy against them; and it is

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only the presence of such an enemy that can render any combination of other States formidable, because they require some ally more regular and more vigorous than themselves, to hold them together and give spirit to their proceedings.

Hyder did this last war, and we do it in the present; shall we then, alarmed by idle dreams of policy and balance of power, hesitate to crush, while we can, such a rival? Would it not rather be the wiser course to strengthen ourselves by his downfall—to seize every favourable opportunity of increasing our power, and to trust more to the terror of our arms than to visionary speculations for defending our territories from the insults of our neighbours. Those who prefer the security of treaties, know little indeed of India.

In Europe, where every people is nearly on a level with respect to the arts of peace and war, and where the boundaries of most of the great kingdoms have been long fixed, alliances are sometimes successful. But in India, where dominion changes every day, where the powers among which it is divided have only had a short existence, with the extent of their territory and power continually varying, and where it is not certain how soon all of them may be overthrown, a nation like the English, whose strength does not depend on the qualities of one man, whose government is fixed on solid foundations, and whose military character is so infinitely superior to that of its competitors, need not fear that by gaining an increase of territory and force, it will stimulate those to combine against it who were afraid to do so when it was in a weaker condition.

TO HIS SISTER.

Camp at Bangalore, 9th Sept. 91.

MY DEAR ERSKINE,

I WROTE to you and my father last month, and to my mother yesterday; I purposely avoided writing to her any particulars of James, because I have not leisure to mention the same thing in many letters, and because the danger of their being lost on the road to Madras, makes me wish to divide whatever I have to say into separate sheets, and to dispatch them at different times, that some of them at least may arrive. He landed at Madras on the 15th August, after a passage of three months and nineteen days, and has written me two letters, the last of which is dated the 27th. His health, poor fellow, is mended, and he will soon, in such a climate as Madras, get as strong as ever he

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was in his life. He seems to be as anxious to get near me as if I were his old nurse Elizabeth; his character, from what I can gather from his observations, has not the least resemblance to that of any of his brothers; it is full of candour, good-nature, diffidence, and a great respect for his superiors, in which light he views all men who are older than himself, particularly doctors. One of his reasons for coming to this country was to be with me, he says; but this cannot at present be effected, and possibly never will to the extent he wishes; it will, however, be no loss to him, for if he can derive any benefit from me, he is more likely to do so from my correspondence than my example; for he would be much scandalized at beholding in his brother, instead of a man of a grave deportment and wise discourse, one little changed since the time that he used to carry him to swim, and play tricks upon him on the way home. He can be with me only in two situations—either by belonging to the same corps, or to the same garrison. The latter must, during the war, be out of the question; and the former too, while I remain in my present employment, which is the command of two companies in Camp, by which I receive about forty pagodas a month above my Lieutenant's allowances. My battalion has been in Bangalore ever since the taking of the place; the Captain, on hearing of the arrival of James, wrote to get him appointed to it; his pay, &c. till the peace, would be about eighty pagodas per month. It is not clear to me that the appointment can be effected, and I am doubtful if it would be ultimately of advantage to him. I have written to an old friend of mine, Mr. Duffin, a member of the Medical Board, and desired him, even if the removal can be procured, not to consent to it unless he thinks James qualified for the situation; he is a most excellent man, and I am certain will do whatever is best for our brother. If James joins a battalion in the field, it would, I am afraid, be too arduous a task for him to take charge of five or six hundred men, and to decide without any assistance when limbs ought to be taken off, and when preserved. Madras is the best and the only good medical school in India; he will there, by a few months' residence, have an opportunity to see the treatment of the disorders peculiar to the climate, to become an expert operator, and perhaps to recommend himself to the heads of his profession: he will have a good house, and leisure to confirm his health and prosecute his studies, and he will mix in society, and insensibly acquire that confidence in

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himself which he wants at present. When the war is over, and my station fixed, I shall endeavour to get him near me, if he is not better provided for. I am not uneasy at his diffidence, it is better in a young man than too much forwardness; for the first may be removed by time, but not the last. I mentioned this part of his disposition in my first letter to Mr. Duffin, to which I have to-day received an answer, in which the Doctor observes—"I have great pleasure in telling you your brother is a steady well-informed young man; he is stationed at the general hospital here, and seems very well satisfied with his situation. As I am with him, you may depend upon it I will do every thing in my power to assist him." This letter is dated the 2nd instant, at which time the application for James's removal had not reached Madras; but on that subject I shall trust entirely to Mr. Duffin, who is the best judge; and I do it with the more confidence, because there are so many alterations daily making in the medical line, that what is now a good situation may next month be a bad one. Mr. Ross says, "that he has a decent, discreet behaviour." This is more than ever he could allow to Alexander or Daniel, and more than he would allow me for a period of some months after my having spoken disrespectfully of certain parts of the character of Peter the Great.

If James did not find in the study of anatomy, in the wonderful construction of the human frame, a wide field for indulging the contemplations of a religious mind, I should be afraid of his abandoning the hospital for the pulpit. He is so very spiritual, that he seems to follow literally the text of "Thank God for all things." When I opened his first letter, I thought I had got hold of a new litany. In every sentence there was "thank God"—"if it please God"—"God willing," and many other ejaculations of this sort. I have been obliged to quote his favourite book, to show him the impropriety of such expressions, except in his closet. He is much attached to botany, which he tells me gives to a reflecting mind the most exalted ideas of the power of the Divinity. This doctrine, though it is always introduced as an exordium to all botanical treatises, has never made much impression on me, for I never could conceive why a man ought to admire the omnipotence of the Creator in the minute, rather than in the grand objects of the creation; or why he should be less struck by rivers and mountains, the ocean and the firmament, than by the sexual system of plants. I shall say no more of this till I see James, and hear his reasons for worshipping a rose

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rather than the sun; and if he has not already made a convert of you, I shall then endeavour to bring you over to my more sublime religion.

He will give you himself the particulars of his voyage, and of his new way of life. I could hardly have believed that he would have left you, or that you would have parted with him. It is, however, I think, the best step that could have been taken; he is better calculated to succeed when a regular promotion is established, and when reward is often the consequence of merit, than when much would have depended on bustling impudence. He is already able to maintain himself, and will soon be able to spare something to send home, and perhaps to go there sooner than any of his brothers.

My father accuses me of forgetting George Kippin; he now commands a party of sixty or seventy horse, under Captain Read, and gives much satisfaction by his activity; his income is handsome, above three hundred pagodas, I am told. He also taxes me with coining new words. If I do, it is like Mrs. Slipslop, by miscalling old ones. He asks where I found explanates? I never found it, and if it is in any of my letters, it is a slip of the pen, and such slips, if I do not observe at the instant, I seldom correct them afterwards; for I very frequently dispatch letters without reading them over, because I remark that men who give in to the habit of mending their letters never do otherwise. I catch myself often, particularly when in a hurry, manufacturing an unintelligible word, by writing the first half of one word and joining to it the whole or the last half of that which ought to conclude the sentence, leaving out, very likely, half a dozen of intermediate ones. I shall not write again by the Swallow, as she is to sail the 15th. I have a great deal on my hands, being obliged to send Alexander and many other Correspondents accounts of our operations; his last letter is 25th August. I wrote to Daniel yesterday, but have not heard from him for some time. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*Introducing his friend Mr. Foulis.*]

Bangalore, 8th January, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

FROM some of your letters I observe that you know, but cannot guess how you learned, that the bearer of this is a man

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for whom I have the highest esteem; my attachment to him is not one of those which proceed merely from the chance of being brought together, and forming a connection or friendship for mutual convenience; but it is the result of an intimate knowledge of his sterling virtues and his amiable feelings. Every part of his character is genuine and manly, and I like him as much in the momentary bursts of passion, excited sometimes by the contemplation of successful villainy, and sometimes by a servant's snuffing out the candle, as in his feeling for the sufferings of the helpless, and his exertions for their relief. A few days will make you interested in his favour as much on his own account as on account of his knowledge of me. I must, however, tell you, that I think one of his great defects is a want of discernment of the characters of men—produced by want of suspicion, not of penetration. He therefore makes a man much *better* or *worse* than he really is, and though he fancies himself a misanthrope—though he dislikes, in general, going into large companies, there are particular parties which he is fond of even to dissipation; but this will not prevent him preferring the most homely fare with you to the best in the town; if he does not, I shall have as little faith in my own as I have in his knowledge of mankind.

I have now by great parsimony scraped together one thousand pagodas, and, if the war continues a twelvemonth longer, I shall have two thousand, the interest of which shall be remitted to you regularly. I have quitted one division of the army to join another, in what I think a shameful, but what other people call a prudent way. I am again under Captain Read, whom I deserted on the central army's taking the field—but of this I shall say more hereafter. I expect James every day. Your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

It will be seen that Mr. Munro, when discussing questions of public importance, almost invariably addressed his letters to his father. Such was the case during the interval now under review, when the idea began to be entertained of a speedy accommodation with Tippoo. Against this arrangement Mr. Munro vehemently argued. He pointed out the great advantages which the present position of the British army afforded over a prince weakened by repeated defeats; and treated with the contempt which it merited, a notion then generally entertained, that the utter ruin of the king-

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dom of Mysore would prove of serious injury to British interests. Of the Mahrattas, at that time held in profound respect, he spoke as of barbarous hordes, totally incapable of meeting the British in the field, or even seriously injuring the British territory by their inroads; whilst the Nizam he justly represented as a cipher, in spite of the extent of his dominions, through the feebleness of his government, and the disinclination of his troops to adopt an improved system of tactics. It was not so, however, with respect to Tippoo. He possessed an energy of character unknown to other Eastern princes, and ruled with arbitrary sway a people among whom every improvement in the art of war was sedulously cultivated. Such a man, he contended, ought to be crushed at once, or at least so weakened as to render him for ever innoxious; and the present seemed to him to be the moment, of all others, best adapted for the accomplishment of that end. In a word, Mr. Munro derided the policy which would seek to maintain in India, what is termed in Europe, "the balance of power;" and argued on the necessity and sound discretion of the very system of conquest into which the East India Company were eventually driven.

He concludes a masterly discussion with the following sentiments, as just as they are clearly expressed.

Men read books, and because they find that all warlike nations have had their downfall, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous but unprofitable, from a supposition that the increase of territory must be always followed by a proportionable increase of expense. This may be true when a nation is surrounded by warlike neighbours, which, while it gains a province on one side, loses as much on the other; but there are times and situations where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but brings also additional security. The kings of England knew this when they attempted the reduction of Scotland. There is, however, another example which would apply better to our position in the Carnatic. When Spain was, in the last century, engaged in a war with France and Portugal, would not the possession of the latter country have added much

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to her strength and security, by removing every possibility of attack from the frontiers of France? By subduing the country below the Ghauts, from Palgatcherry to Ambour, we have nothing to fear. The sea is behind us, and in front we gain a stronger barrier than we now have, which would enable us to defend the country with the present military establishment; but as this, with the civil expenses, would be nearly equal to the whole revenue of the country, let us advance to the Kistna, and we shall triple our revenue without having occasion to add much to our military force; because our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter than it is now. I do not mean that we should all at once attempt to extend ourselves so far, for it is at present beyond our power; but that we should keep the object in view, though the accomplishment of it should require a long series of years:—there is no necessity for precipitation. The dissensions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors. It can never arrive while Tippoo exists: while his power remains unimpaired, so far from being able to extend our territory, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Why then not remove, while we can, so formidable an enemy? But his system, if not broken, may in time be communicated to the successors of the Nizam, or other Moorish princes who may hereafter appear in the Deccan. If once destroyed, there is little danger of its being re-established: it would require what may not appear in many ages—another Hyder; and even he would be unequal to the task, without the concurring circumstances of an European war to give him military skill, and a minority and a weak prince to give him a kingdom. Nothing can be more absurd than our regarding any of the native governments as powers which are to last for ages. It would not be surprising if all of them were to cease to exist in the course of twenty or thirty years. Let us then, while we can, make the most of the superior stability of our own government; and if we are not, for inconceivable reasons of state, to extirpate Tippoo, let us at least humble him, by depriving him of the Malabar coast. When cut off from all intercourse with Europeans, his political and military systems may linger on during his reign, but will soon expire under a successor.

Though not personally present with the army, either during its advance towards Seringapatam, or at the attack

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upon the Sultan's lines on the night of the 6th of February, 1792, Mr. Munro's narrative of that affair seems well worthy of insertion. It is drawn up with a degree of clearness, such as does not always attach to military details, whilst the supplement to it, which I likewise transcribe, may be taken as a perfect picture of the writer's notions on certain subjects.

TO ANDREW ROSS, ESQ. OF MADRAS.

Bangalore, 17th February, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

My last letter to you, mentioning my leaving camp from several causes, and among others the intention that I saw there was of posting me on the road, would sufficiently account for my not writing to you on so memorable an event as the storming of the Sultan's lines.

I had determined never to write of what I did not see, because I foresaw the difficulty of describing transactions from imperfect accounts of inaccurate men. But our late attack has been so masterly and so successful, that I could not resist saying something about it, and my delay in doing it has proceeded only from not being able to comprehend the general plan and design, from the vague, unsatisfactory accounts received here. I am still far from understanding every part of it, but as chance may have thrown some points in my way which you have not seen, I shall give you whatever I have been able to collect on so interesting a subject.

Tippoo was encamped with his right towards the Pagoda Hill, and his left extending parallel to the river Soomer Pet; the distance, I think, must be above four miles.

A brood deep nullah, which leaves the river near Caniambaddy, ran along his front; on the edge of it was a thick hedge of thorns and aloes; behind this hedge were his lines, and within them, at convenient distances, eight redoubts, or rather little forts, for most of them had a double ditch, a glacis, covered-way, and winding sortie; they were as highly finished, it is said, and infinitely stronger, than those of Budge Budge.

They were capable of containing five or six hundred men, and from ten to twenty guns, each. The principal of them was that which went by the name of Lally. It stood near the Jelgoch of Soomer Pet, which, if I recollect, is almost the only rising ground within the lines, most of the area within them being a

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flat, intersected with several ditches running from the great nullah.

The left, besides works, was covered by a swamp, the rear by the river, and the whole, except the extremity of the right, was under the fire of the fort.

In so strong a situation Tippoo thought he had little to apprehend from any enemy, and his Lordship, seeing him determined to keep his ground, lost no time in attacking him.

At nine o'clock on the night of the 6th, the army, leaving their tents and guns under the protection of the reserve, moved forward in three columns, each preceded by a proportion of pioneers and scaling-ladders.

The right, under General Meadows, consisted of the 36th and 76th regiments, the 3rd Bengal brigade, and Captain Oram's battalion, and was destined to turn the enemy's left. The centre, commanded by Colonel Stuart, under Lord Cornwallis, composed of the 52nd, 71st, and 74th regiments, the 4th Bengal, and the 2nd and 21st Coast battalions, were to attack a strong redoubt near the enemy's centre, and to endeavour to get possession of all their works extending to the right, towards the hill.

The left, under Colonel Maxwell, formed of the 72nd regiment, the 5th Coast brigade, and the 23rd battalion, was to storm the Choultry and Pagoda Hills.

Major Montague, with a party of artillerymen, and three hundred Lascars, marched with them to make use of the enemy's guns.

The three columns arrived nearly at the same time, between eleven and twelve, at their respective points of attack. The centre column passed the nullah, and entered the works before they were discovered. They found no troops drawn out to receive them, and pushing through the camp, they found all the tents standing, shades, &c. on the tables of the French officers. They passed close to Tippoo's tents; the canaul was standing, but the green tent had been removed to the fort the day before. Here the column separated into three divisions, of which the leading one proceeded directly towards the river, crossed it near the fort, and advanced to within eighty yards of the east gate, when perceiving a torrent of people rushing back from it, they concluded it was shut. They then turned to the left, marching through a long bazaar street, about a mile and a quarter, till they reached the Cingulford, on the south of the island. The gate leading to it was defended by two small bastions with two guns, one

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of which the enemy fired at them, and accompanied it with a volley of small arms, which was instantly returned, and followed by a charge with bayonets, in which so great a slaughter was made that the gateway was choaked up to the top with men and horses. After dispersing the enemy, the party took post at the ford, waiting for accounts of other parts of the army.

The second division of the centre column crossed the river soon after the first, and, I believe, a little lower down. Colonel Stuart, who led it, does not seem to have met with much opposition; he pushed towards Ganjam and the Lal Bagh, where he was joined by Colonel Maxwell. His march along the island probably facilitated Maxwell's success, by drawing their attention to another quarter. Maxwell reached the hills just as his Lordship entered the camp. He found no works on them. They were defended by a party without guns, which he soon dispersed, and, descending after them, entered the river, in which, from the roughness of the bottom, and the strength of the lines on the opposite side, he lost many men before he could dislodge the enemy and effect his passage. Having accomplished it at last, his party, in conjunction with Colonel Stuart, occupied all the posts and redoubts to the eastward of the fort.

The division under Gen. Medows had, in the mean time, met with a more steady resistance. After penetrating the left of the camp, he attacked what is called Lally's battery, which was defended by a part of Seid Hamet's cushoon, and supported by the remainder of that corps; Seid Guffar's cushoon, and the party under Mons. Vesser, commonly called Young Lally.

The grenadiers of the 36th and 76th soon carried the covered-way, but were three times repulsed in attempting to enter the gorge, by a severe fire of musketry and a discharge of grape. The enemy, however, having expended most of their ammunition, and beginning to lose their firmness, a fourth attack was made, the work carried, and every man in it, about three hundred and fifty, put to the bayonet.

The General, after this success, directed his march towards the enemy's centre to join Lord Cornwallis, but by keeping too near the front of their camp he passed his Lordship's rear in the dark without perceiving him, and got near the Pagoda Hill before he halted. His Lordship was by this means left in a very critical situation, for confident of being supported by the General, he had detached two divisions of his column, and likewise seven companies of the 52d, to the island, and had been above two hours

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on Tippoo's encampment with only four companies of the 74th, two or three of the 73rd, and some companies of sepoys.

The left wing of the enemy, which had suffered little, discovering that he had but a small force, advanced, between two and three in the morning, with great impetuosity to attack him. Just as the firing commenced the 52nd regiment fortunately arrived, and charging the enemy in front, broke them, and pursued them to a nullah, over which it was not thought prudent to follow them. They had shown so much resolution in their attack, that his Lordship, after leaving four companies of sepoys and Europeans in a strong redoubt, within twelve hundred yards of the fort, under Captain Sibbald, retreated about half a mile nearer the Pagoda Hill, when being informed of General Medows' situation, he halted till daybreak.

His situation was certainly at one time extremely critical, and had he not been joined by the 52nd, the consequences might have been very fatal.

Captain Hunter, who commanded that corps, after crossing the river at midnight, took post under the wall of Dowlet Bagh near the fort; here he waited above two hours expecting to be reinforced, but seeing no friends, and being discovered and fired on from the works, he determined to retreat; he had scarcely began to move when a large party with four guns came down to attack him, he saw that nothing but an exertion could save him; he pushed for the guns and took them before they could be unlimbered, on which the enemy fled; he continued his retreat, but, missing the ford, got into deep water, where all his ammunition was damaged. On returning to Tippoo's camp he found nine barrels of cartridges belonging to a sepoy corps, and his men had just filled their muskets, when a message from Lord Cornwallis informed him of his danger.

The party which went to the south ford left it before daybreak and joined Colonel Stuart at Ganjam. The enemy were at this time still in possession of two or three redoubts in the rear of their centre near the fort, the fire of which secured them from an attack in the day, but they abandoned them in the evening.

Captain Sibbald's redoubt being too near the fort to admit of its being supported from the camp by day, was twice attacked in the course of the 7th by two corps of infantry and one of dismounted cavalry. The loss was great on both sides, but the enemy were repulsed. Captain Sibbald, with the artillery

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officer, and above half the men in the battery, were killed or wounded, and after the fall of the officers, it was probably saved by the spirited behaviour of Major Skelly and Captain Hunter, who had gone there out of curiosity a little before the enemy appeared. This repulse was a brilliant close to so decisive and important a victory; every thing was attained by it which could have been wished for.

Our own loss was trifling, while the enemy had four thousand killed and wounded, and lost thrice that number by desertion; they lost their camp, their bazaar, their redoubts, and the greatest part of their cannon, seventy-six of which are now in our possession, and by being masters of the island, we have an excellent station for making approaches, and plenty of materials for battering, even without destroying the noble cypresses which shade the tomb of Hyder.

Tippoo's overthrow is in a great measure to be attributed to his confidence in engineers. Extensive lines are always dangerous, especially when the troops who attack are of a superior quality to those who defend. Tippoo's lines lost him the island, for our troops, after forcing them, passed the river with the fugitives, with no opposition, close to the fort, which could not distinguish friends from foes.

He would have acted a wiser part had he confined himself to the island. The river having but few fords he would have known the points of attack, and could have secured them; the fort and the island would have opened all their fire on the appearance of any troops moving towards them, knowing that they must be enemies; and we could not possibly have crossed the river and driven the enemy from their works without sustaining a very heavy loss.

The small remains of the Sultan's army is now in the fort, except his cavalry, which are encamped between the Mysore river and the glacis; he himself sits there the whole day under a private tent, but retires into the fort at night.

I am sorry to think that his spirit begins to bend to his fortunes, for I could have wished him to act consistently to the last. He gave Chalmers, on dismissing him, a present of five hundred rupees. This I easily believed, but I could not as readily credit another report, which, however, I am now afraid is but too true,—that his pride and firmness had so far deserted him as to make him request Chalmers to intercede for peace. I hope he will recover from this fit of despair and make a vigorous

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defence; he is at present as much changed as Mr. Burke's vision. —Lord Cornwallis having written to him that he had broken the treaty with the Coimbatore garrison, he sent in Chalmers and Nash on the 9th, and along with them letters for the Earl and the allies, which were not answered till the 12th. Tippoo sent another letter the same day; the result of which is that two Vakeels on his part arrived on the 13th at one of the outposts to talk to the confederates, and on the 14th they were to be met by Sir John Kennaway on the part of the English, Meer Allum on the part of the Nizam, and some *Row* or other on that of the Mahrattas.

Tippoo fired none on the 13th. I shall not be easy till I hear that he has begun again. If he is restored to his dominions in part, Seringapatam ought not to be given up to him, for with it and only half of his former possessions, he would in a few years be as formidable as ever. Those who think otherwise know little of the situation and resources of his country; the inhabitants have only emigrated, they are not destroyed, like those of the Carnatic in 1780; the scene of desolation is only in a circle of seventy miles round the capital.

This is all I have been able to collect; I have waited in vain for satisfactory accounts, and have at last been obliged to write in a hurry from confused, vague relations. I am far from thinking every thing I have written accurate; I have not yet seen enough to comprehend the whole myself, and cannot, therefore, give a clear idea of the whole design and execution to others.

If there was one disposition more than another which Mr. Munro held in sovereign contempt, it was that which, in too many instances, prompts men to exaggerate the difficulties of an operation for the sake of enhancing the merit of their own services in overcoming these difficulties. The following furnishes an excellent specimen of the effect produced upon his mind by the rhodomontades in which some of his brother officers seem to have indulged.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Bangalore, 25th February, 1792.

I REQUESTED Mr. Ross to copy an account of the attack on Tippoo's lines, which I had given him, and send it to my father; if he does not, he will lose nothing: for it was very im-

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perfect, having been manufactured from at least a dozen of letters from camp; but most of them so filled with puerile, extravagant descriptions, that it was almost impossible to annex any distinct ideas to them, or to draw from them any rational conception of the battle.

I could never read one of these letters without cursing heartily G—— and G——, and the whole race of turgid authors, whose corruption has descended even to subalterns, and made language no longer answer its original purpose of conveying ideas.

One fellow calls for the pen of a Homer, and tells you that British arms "shine resplendent."

Another poor man is quite overcome with tumultuous feelings, which, it would appear, prevented him from giving utterance to any one of the thousand ideas which, he asserts, crowded upon his mind to such a degree as to deprive him of every faculty but—wonder! In this unhappy state, he gives the following animated relation of the engagement:—

"Moonlight—impregnable lines—batteries—ditches—proud Sultan—ferocious tyrant—innumerable horse and foot—British bayonets—triumphant heroes—bloody field—eternally emblazoned on the records of Fame!"

From such records you will hardly wish for any farther extracts.

Soon after the above letter was despatched, Mr. Munro joined the camp before Seringapatam, where he continued to do duty under Captain Read till the peace. His detail of the events which preceded the negotiation, as well as his sentiments touching the policy of the arrangements entered into, are contained in the subjoined communication to his father:—

28th April, 1792.

I HAVE written to you one or two short letters since the peace: they would have been longer had I not, since the month of January, been employed in a laborious situation, which takes up so much of my time as to leave me none for private correspondence. I write from daybreak till sunset every day, and at night I am either engaged with idle people, or so much exhausted, as not to be able to think correctly on any subject. I am, besides, so little pleased with the peace, that I cannot with-

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out difficulty bring myself either to talk or write of it. When hostilities ceased, Tippoo had no place above the Ghauts from Gurrumconda to Seringapatam. Besides the former of these forts, he had Gooty, Balhari, and Chitteldroog; but all either so distant from the scene of action, or so weakly garrisoned, as to give him no benefit from holding them; he had likewise Kismagerry in the Baramahl, which was however, at this time, of no consequence in the operations of the war, because its garrison was not strong enough to attack convoys coming from the Carnatic, and because the Peddanadurgum Pass, in the neighbourhood of Amboor, being repaired, all convoys, after the month of September, took that road as the most direct to the army. He had lost the greatest part of his troops by death or desertion in the attack of his lines, and he himself had lost his haughtiness, his courage, and almost every quality that distinguished him, but his cruelty, which he continued to exercise every day on many of the principal officers of his government, particularly Bramins, on the most idle suspicions. The remains of his infantry were in the fort, and his cavalry on the glacis. He slept at night in the fort, in the great mosque,—for he never visited his palace after his defeat on the 6th; and during the day he stayed on the outside amongst his horsemen, under a private tent, from whence he observed, with a sullen despair, his enemies closing in upon him from every side—the Carnatic army, on the north bank of the river, with their approaches, which even on this side were carried within four thousand yards of the wall, and a strong detachment occupying the pettah, and half the island —the Bombay army on the south side, about four miles distant, on the Periapatam road—Purseram Bhow, after ravaging Biddinore, advancing by rapid marches to fill up the interval between the right of the Bombay and the left of the Carnatic army, and complete the blockade—and no possibility of protracting the siege, even by the most determined resistance, beyond fifteen days. In this situation, when extirpation, which had been so long talked of, seemed to be so near, the moderation or the policy of Lord Cornwallis granted him peace, on the easy terms of his relinquishing half his dominions to the Confederates. Tippoo accepted these conditions on the 24th of February, and orders were instantly issued to stop all working in the trenches. The words which spread such a gloom over the army, by disappointing not so much their hopes of gain as revenge, were these:—

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"Lord Cornwallis has great pleasure in announcing to the army that preliminaries of peace have been settled between the Confederate Powers and Tippoo Sultan."

His Lordship probably at this time supposed that every thing would soon be finally settled, and that he would be able in a few days to leave a sickly camp, where he was losing great numbers of Europeans; but Tippoo continued to work with more vigour than before the cessation, and used so many delays and evasions in ratifying the definitive treaty, that notwithstanding his having already sent his two eldest sons as hostages, and a million sterling, it was believed that hostilities would be renewed. His Lordship furnished him with the means of protraction, by adopting a revenue, instead of a geographical division of his country. It was stipulated, that the Confederates were to take portions of his territories contiguous to their own, and by their own choice, which should amount to half his revenue. He was desired to send out an account of his revenues, that the selection might be made. He replied that he had none—that they had all been lost at Bangalore and other places; and on being told, that in that case the allies would make the partition agreeable to statements in their own possession, he sent out accounts in which the frontier countries were overrated, and all those in the centre of his kingdom, which he knew he would retain for himself, undervalued. The fabrication was obvious, not only in this particular, but also in his diminishing the total amount of his revenue about thirty lacks of rupees. The Confederates, however, after a few days, consented to submit to this double loss for the sake of peace; but Tippoo, after gaining one point, determined to try his success on some others. The value of the whole had been fixed; but on proceeding to fix that of the districts which were to be ceded, he threw so many obstacles in the way, that the Allies found themselves at last compelled to adopt the measure with which they ought to have begun. A list was sent to him, which he was told contained half his dominions; and he was desired to put his seal to it. After a delay of two days, he replied that he would neither give up Kisnagerry, Chittledurg, nor Gooty. His unwillingness to part with these places, which could only be useful to him in an offensive war, convinced his Lordship of his hostile designs, and made him resolve to insist on their being surrendered: he ordered parties to make fascines, and the young princes to go next morning to Bangalore. The Vakeels of Tippoo, seeing his sons marching off at daybreak, ran

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and called up Sir John Kennaway, and begged that they might be detained till they should inform the Sultan, and get *another* final answer from him. His Lordship, with his usual mildness, permitted them to halt after they had proceeded about two miles; but still it was not till the 16th, three days afterwards, that the Vakeels signed the treaty; and it did not come out till the 19th with the signature of Tippoo. So much good sense and military skill has been shown in the conduct of the war, that I have little doubt but that the peace has been made with equal judgment. It has given us an increase of revenue amounting to thirty-nine and a half lacs of rupees, which, though from Tippoo's mismanagement of his finances, it has not produced that for some years past, will soon be easily afforded by the country; and by giving us possession of the Baramahl, it has rendered it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Tippoo to invade the Carnatic in future from the westward,—for the passes from Mysore into the Baramahl, though good, are few; and though not defended by fortifications, there are so many strong posts near them, that an invading army must either take them, which might require a whole campaign, or else leave them in the rear, and run the risk of being starved by the loss of its convoys. These are, no doubt, great advantages; but because greater might have been with ease obtained, I cannot help thinking but that something has been left undone. Why, instead of stumbling upon revenue accounts, could we not have traced our boundary on the map, taken such places as suited us from their political situation, sent him entirely above the Ghauts, and not left him in possession of Carore and Coimbatore, to plunder our southern provinces whenever he shall find it convenient to go to war? It is true, that the possession of Palgatcherry will make it always easy for a Bombay army to take Coimbatore, and force him above the Ghauts, with the assistance of a Carnatic army; but to collect our troops is a work of some months, and in that time he may pass Trichinopoly, and ravage the Carnatic as far as Madras; whilst, by driving off the cattle and inhabitants, he may render it difficult for us to equip an army for the field. If we are in a situation to march, he will probably lose Bangalore in the first campaign; but he will always be able to prevent an army without cavalry from besieging Seringapatam; and while he can do this, he can force us, after an expensive war, to relinquish our conquests for peace. We ought, therefore, to have kept Coimbatore, and established a strong post at Sattimungalum, which

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would have made an invasion on that side as impracticable as on that of the Baramahl. Tippoo being then without magazines in the low countries, and seeing strong posts in the neighbourhood of all the passes, which could defy his unskilful attacks and intercept his convoys, would have had no temptation to begin a hopeless war; but as the Allies must also have had a proportional increase of territory, it is said that he would then have been reduced too low. He would have been more powerful than Hyder was when he usurped the Government, and would have been as able as he to defend his possessions; and if he was not, so much the better; for every person who has seen his army, and that of the other country powers, must be convinced how much is to be feared from the one, and how little from the other.

Lord Cornwallis was apprehensive that he should have been driven to the necessity of taking Seringapatam; and frequently exclaimed, "Good God! what shall I do with this place?" I would have said, "Keep it as the best barrier you can have to your own countries; and be confident that, with it, and such a frontier as the Cavery, skirted by vast ranges of rugged mountains, which make it impassable for an army from Arakeery to Caveryporam, no Indian power will ever venture to attack you." But every thing now is done by moderation and conciliation;—at this rate, we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more. I am still of the old doctrine, that the best method of making all princes keep the peace, not excepting even Tippoo, is to make it dangerous for them to disturb your quiet. This can be done by a good army. We have one; but as we have not money to pay it, we ought to have taken advantage of our successes for this purpose, and after reducing Seringapatam, have retained it and all the countries to the southward and westward of the Cavery. By doing this, we could have maintained a good body of cavalry; and so far from being left with a weak and extended frontier, the usual attendant of conquests, we should, from the nature of the country, have acquired one more compact and more strong than we have at present. If peace is so desirable an object, it would be wiser to have retained the power of preserving it in our hands, than to have left it to the caprice of Tippoo, who, though he has lost half his revenue, has by no means lost half his power. He requires no combination, like us, of an able military governor, peace in Europe, and allies in this country, to enable him to prosecute war successfully. He only wants to attack them singly, when he will be more than a match for any of them; and

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it will be strange if he does not find an opportunity when the Confederates may not find it convenient to support the general cause. When we have a General of less ability than Lord Cornwallis at the head of the Government, (such men as we have lately seen commanding armies,) Tippoo may safely try, by the means of Gooty, Chitteldroog, and Biddanor, to recover the conquests of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. If Lord Cornwallis himself could not have reduced Tippoo without the assistance of the Mahrattas,—for there is no doubt that without them he could never, after falling back from Seringapatam in May, have advanced again beyond Bangalore,—if his integrity, his sound manly judgment, and his great military talents, could have done nothing, what is to be hoped for from those whom we may expect to supply his room? We cannot look for better than ——— or ——— or ———, men selected from the army as great military characters; but these gentlemen themselves are as well convinced as any private in the army, how cheap Tippoo held them, and how little honour he could have gained by foiling them. One, or rather two, sallied forth; and after spouting some strange, unintelligible stuff, like ancient Pistol, and the ghost of a Roman, lost their magazines by forming them in front of the army, and then spent the remainder of the campaign in running about the country, after what was ludicrously called by the army the invisible power, asking, which way the bull ran?

The other, in May last, on a detachment of Tippoo's marching towards him without ever seeing them, with an army superior to Sir Eyre Coote's, at Porto Novo, shamefully ran away, leaving his camp and his hospital behind; and in advancing in February, a second time, when Tippoo had lost the greatest part of his army, he allowed a few straggling horse to cut off a great part of his camp equipage, and would have lost the whole had not Colonel Floyd been sent with a small detachment to bring him safely past the ferocious Tippoo. The Colonel found him as much dismayed as if he had been surrounded by the whole Austrian army, and busy in placing an ambuscade to catch about six looties;—he must have been a simple looty that he caught. Lord Cornwallis said one day, on hearing that the looties had carried away nine elephants, near Savendroog, "that they were the best troops in the world, for that they were always doing something to harass their enemies;" and I am confident that Tippoo has not lost a looty in his army, who is not a better soldier than any of these three Generals. Had his Lordship not arrived, Tippoo

would have been too much for them all, and their confederates at their back. These characters have led me out of my way, or I should have said a great deal more about the armies of the Native Powers, the old subject of Tippoo as a barrier against the Mahrattas, and some oversights which his Lordship had nearly committed, when he intended sending Meadows with a part of the army to Assore to wait for him;—but I feel myself getting blind, and am besides afraid of losing the Manship, if I have not done so already. Your affectionate son,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the definitive treaty was no sooner signed and ratified, than the British army broke up, and the several divisions of which it was composed returned each to its own presidency.

Large as the selection may appear, which has been made from Mr. Munro's correspondence at this period, many highly interesting letters have been omitted, chiefly because they refer to circumstances long gone by, or narrate events in which the public is not now likely to take much interest. In some of these, the opinions of the writer, touching the talents of the different Generals under whom he served, are very freely given. He speaks of Lord Cornwallis, for example, as of a man possessed of more than moderate abilities, cool in the hour of danger, and not unskilful in manœuvring; though scarcely competent to arrange the important details of the commissariat, or happy in his system of magazines and depots. In like manner his estimate of the military genius of Sir Eyre Coote is extremely favourable; but with these exceptions, he says of the officers employed from time to time in separate commands, that they were, one and all, totally unqualified to fill so important a trust. "Never having been placed," says he, "in situations which required the exertion of thought, when they were cast ashore in India, with Tippoo in their neighbourhood, they were lost. They held his abilities as a General too cheap—rated their own too high, or despised the advice of those who, from greater experience in Indian warfare, were well qualified to give it."

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Yet was he prompt to bestow praise, and ready to encourage hopes, wherever there appeared scope for the one, or reason for the other. Thus, of Colonel Floyd's gallantry he invariably speaks in terms of the highest commendation; whilst of Colonels Fullerton and Kelly he makes frequent mention, as of officers from whom great things might be expected, provided fitting opportunities for the display of their talents were afforded. Unfortunately, the one quitted India, and the other died, before the expectations of Mr. Munro could be realized.

Notice has already been taken of Mr. Munro's excessive abhorrence of the practice of exaggeration, to which men employed in the field are sometimes addicted. One example of his mode of turning into ridicule the extravagant narratives of his contemporaries, has been afforded; and many more are kept back, only from an apprehension that a repetition of such details might fatigue; but the following reasons assigned by himself for giving at length the description of certain affairs in which he was engaged, are too characteristic of the man to be withheld. "I have described these battles at greater length," says he, "because partial accounts, framed not from the impression made of them by the scene itself, but from after exaggerated reports, to serve the purpose of procuring honour, without deserving it, have already appeared in the papers of India, and will soon pass into those of Europe, to be stared at and admired by members of Parliament. I have seen some public letters near the truth, but in general they are so wide of it, that I have renounced an opinion which I once held—that they are the best documents of history." I may be permitted to add to this, that from the commencement to the close of his career, the idea of aiming at distinctions which he was conscious not to have merited, was of all others the most abhorrent to the principles of Sir Thomas Munro. Ambitious he doubtless was;—where is the man of real talent who is not ambitious?—but his ambition urged him to *deserve* honours and

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rewards; by no means surreptitiously to procure them. I cannot better close this chapter than by the insertion of the following letters to his brother: they are replete with fine feeling and admirable views of human nature.

TO HIS BROTHER JAMES.

Oscottah, 24th October.

DEAR JAMES,

It gave me much concern to observe from your last letter, that you have had a return of your old complaint, which I thought a warm climate would have removed, as it did Alexander's. I hope the attack has been only temporary, and that you are again perfectly recovered; you would do well, notwithstanding your contempt for the old school, to consult some of its followers in this country. The modern is, perhaps, not much superior to it. It is a common idea among young men, but particularly Scotchmen, that the masters under whom they have studied are the most eminent in their respective professions that have ever appeared in the world; but those who leave their prejudices and colleges together, find that science is not confined to the North of the Tweed. I never meet with three or four gentlemen from the Northern seminaries, swelling with gas, and talking of the wonderful discoveries made by Doctors Edinburgh and Glasgow, that I do not think of the old woman, who said that sixteen French ambassadors had come to ask peace of the provost. In medicine and in chemistry, system yields to system; and in both so little has hitherto been ascertained by the test of experiment, that it would be presumption to say what is, or what is not, the truth. Fourteen years ago, I pronounced with reverence the names of Messrs. Black and Irvin, and considered them as at least equal to Hermes Trismegistus; but little did I then dream of Lavoisier and his heretical doctrines. Had I seen one of the new sect in those days, when my head was full of phlogiston and fixed air, I should have regarded him with as much contempt as our old aunts would do a Hanoverian. Seeing such revolutions, I am become a little sceptical with respect to every new system; and think it not impossible that the medical Board, without following either Black or Lavoisier, may have almost as much illumination as Doctor ——. Perhaps I injure the Doctor by this supposition, or the lights which your anatomical eyes may have observed might have been

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hid from mine by his modesty. But you will excuse my blindness, for you know a man does nothing but blunder when he attempts subjects beyond his reach. This was so much the case with me, that though I have often listened to the Doctor, as I do to all Doctors, with becoming deference, I never could perceive any thing of the quality which you mention: however, to make amends, I saw through the veil of an awkward address, what you did not see, a great deal of what the vulgar call vanity; but the learned, more properly, tenacity of opinion. This circumstance is a strong proof of the great progress which knowledge has made of late years. When a man knows a thing imperfectly, he has doubts. When by seeing it demonstrated, he understands it fully, they are removed. Newton, after all his discoveries, was diffident on many points, because he had not been able to prove them; but Dr. ——, having no such defects, speaks with the confidence which he derives from a perfect knowledge of his subject. I hope you will have no occasion for his aid to remove your disorder. Burn your books, rather than hurt your health by study. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Pinagur, 9th June.

DEAR JAMES,

CAPTAIN READ and I have been here since the 4th; we move again in a day or two, in different directions; he for Cavereperam, and I for Tingrecottah. I shall be moving up and down the country for about six weeks more; after which I shall take up my quarters either at Darrampoory, or some other convenient place, of which I shall give you notice, that I may have a visit from you. You ought to get up in the morning, and take exercise, and mix with the people of the garrison, to whom you have already, I suppose, received an addition, by the arrival of Cuppage. You will find him an excellent man in every respect, both as a commanding officer and a companion. When you do not like the manners of people who are generally esteemed, you should attribute it to your having mixed little with the world, and not to its want of discernment. You will soon by habit approve of many things about which you are now indifferent; and even your anxiety to return to Europe will, by degrees, be so far lessened, and your attachment to this country so much increased, that if it should be in your choice to stay here or return, you will be undecided which course to take. If

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you have no sick officers, and few men, bad cases, you can accompany Cuppage, Irton, or any of the garrison, in their excursions about the country. This kind of exercise will contribute both to your health and amusement; it will prevent you from indulging melancholy reflections, and will insensibly improve your mind, by showing you the country and the manners of its inhabitants; but to make these expeditions, you must have a horse, which I am too little of a jockey to purchase for you. You might get one for your purpose for about a hundred pagodas. Sam. Bub is, I believe, the best judge of horse-flesh with you; but Kisnagerry is not a favourable place for purchasing. If you cannot supply yourself there, I shall write to Captain Dallas. Let me know what money you have, and in what time you can get payment, that I may look for a bill on Europe. Remittances are bad just now; but it is as well to make it, as to keep money without interest, as none is now given at Madras, owing to the great quantity of specie brought there by the war.

If you have got your books from Madras, send me Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. You ought to get rid of the Moorman, by sending him with Kippin to be reduced. A cook, a boy to attend you at table, and some one to assist you in medical preparations, are all the servants you have occasion for. All bullocks should be sold, no matter at how small a price; the randy one, if recovered, send to me. Your expenses should be within your pay, but not on too narrow a plan; while you have no horse, you may easily manage on thirty-five pagodas a month.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR JAMES,

IT is now a good while since I wrote to you,—but you never told me whether or not you received my last letter. Your silence, I am afraid, is owing to bad health, or the consequence of it,—low spirits. Graham tells me that he has been ill, and that you are but poorly, and that he thinks Kisnagerry unhealthy: but if there are not other instances against the place, your case and his are not sufficient to condemn it. You gave me no answer what steps you were taking to get a horse, or if I should write to Captain Dallas about one for you. Your anxiety after home will leave you by degrees. I had as much of it as you for a year after my arrival; but having good health, and something

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to take up my attention in camp, it soon left me. Nothing is so bad as moping and shutting yourself (unless absolutely unable to go out) up from society. You should mix with all men, and enter into all boyish amusements, and not suppose that it is necessary to imitate the formality of the learned in Europe. You have a strange, or rather, I should say, ill-founded idea,—for many young people have it,—that happiness is to be found only in living in retirement with a few of our school or college friends. Nothing can be more absurd than such a sentiment: our attachment to early acquaintances is as frequently owing to chance placing us together,—to being engaged in the same studies or amusements, as to worth or merit of any kind. Such friends are not selected; and therefore men, as they advance in years, drop them for others they think better of; and if they retain an affection for any of them, it is perhaps only for one or two who may possess those qualities which they would wish chosen friends to possess, though it may have been circumstances very different from those qualities that first formed the attachment. If among your school-friends there are many who are worthy of a warm friendship, you have been more fortunate than I; for though I was happy with my companions at home, when I pass them in review, and recollect their habits, tempers, and dispositions, I can hardly see more than one or two whose loss I can with reason regret. Whatever you may think now, you may be assured that those who have now the first place in your esteem will give way to objects more deserving, because chosen when your discernment was more mature. It must be confessed that there is a satisfaction in the company of men engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves; but it does not follow that they alone are deserving of our friendship, and that there is no happiness in the society of other men. I like an orientalist, a politician, a man that walks and swims, or plays fives, because I like all these things myself; but I at the same time have perhaps a greater friendship for a man who cares for none of these amusements.

Your affectionate brother,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

You should learn to play whist to pass the evenings.

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TO THE SAME.

Oscottah, 29th October.

MY DEAR JAMES,

I HAVE received your letters of the 16th and 18th, and also one from your friend Mr. Bryden. Your mutual attachment is a proof of the good disposition of both, and I wish your desire of continuing together could be effected without injury to either; but this, from the nature of the service, can only be done while at the General Hospital, where no man can wish to remain, except with the view of gaining some experience of the country practice. But there are other claims upon you besides those of friendship. The expense of your outfit was considerable, and our father is in no situation to pay it off. To enable him to do this, ought to be your first object. A vacant situation now presents itself, which if you can secure, it may be the means of attaining this end. The 15th battalion wants a surgeon, and I have written to Mr. Duffin to get you appointed to it. If you succeed, you will have no cause to regret the loss of your friend: you will be under an intimate friend of mine; and, what is better, a most excellent man,—Captain Alexander Read; and you will also have as a companion your townsman George Kippen. With them you will not find yourself among strangers, but, in two days, more at home than you have been since you left Glasgow. Your backwardness to going into company is, I suspect, almost as strong a motive as friendship for your wishing to remain at Madras; but you will find that there is no occasion for that kind of diffidence when you come here. And I should likewise hope, that by moving about, and having less employment than at Madras, your health will improve.

Your affectionate brother,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following extracts from letters addressed to the same individual, on his first arrival in India, possess too much sterling merit to be omitted. They deserve to be studied by all young men, when first starting into life.—

Though I am, in many respects, a greater boy than you; yet, as I have had the start of you in this country, I will venture to give you some hints. Do not wonder at any thing you see; or

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if you do, keep it to yourself. Do not pester people with questions about me, for men in general are as much disgusted with hearing a person talk of his relations as of himself. My father says you are diffident. I rejoice to hear it; for it is a fault more easily corrected than forwardness. You have no reason to be alarmed at what is called launching out into the world. A little experience will convince you, that it is composed neither of wiser nor of better people than you have seen in small circles. Play your own character without affectation, and be assured that it will soon procure you friends. Do not distrust your own medical skill; if you do, you are a wonderful doctor. In this country, a good understanding, sound principles, and consistency of character, will do more for you than a thousand discoveries concerning muscular motion.

Again—

If you are ordered to remain at Madras, you will not, I am convinced, despise the country practice like some young men, because it differs from that of Europe; but be diligent and active in the discharge of your duty, as the best means of establishing your character, and recommending yourself to your superiors. I hope you have too much sense to visit punch-houses, and too much spirit to get drunk. You will find books enough at Mr. Ross's to amuse you when you are not attending to more urgent business; and if you want exercise, you have a delightful walk on the sea-shore.

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CHAPTER III.

Appointment to the Revenue Department under Colonel Read.—Letters from the Baramahl.—Second war with Tippoo.—Fall of Seringapatam.

We have hitherto followed the fortunes of Mr. Munro as a soldier actively employed in the field, and made a selection from his correspondence, chiefly with a view of illustrating his feelings and turn of thought while in the immediate presence of the enemy. We come now to a new era in his career, when, being appointed to assist Captain Read in the arrangement of the ceded district of Baramahl, he may be said to have passed, for a time, from the military to the civil service. The circumstances under which so great a change was effected are narrated in part by himself; but of certain important matters, of which he has given no account, it will be necessary to say something.

Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that in the year 1792 there was a deplorable deficiency among the civil servants of the Company in acquirements the possession of which is now justly esteemed indispensable in persons employed in the administration of judicial and revenue affairs. Accustomed to trust entirely to their native assistants, very few collectors or magistrates were acquainted with the languages of the country, or knew any thing of the habits, customs, dispositions, or prejudices of the people entrusted to their care. All public business was, in consequence, carried on through the instrumentality of interpreters, against whose fidelity, though strong doubts might be entertained of it, no charge could be brought. Now, though such a state of things might exist, and did exist with comparative harmlessness, at the Presidency, and within the

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narrow tract immediately attached to it, where the people had long been habituated to the British system, and were become in a certain degree reconciled to it, any attempt to introduce it into a province like the Baramahl would have argued an excess of infatuation in the authorities which made it. The inhabitants of the Baramahl were principally Hindoos, who for ages had been guided by their own customs. Of the Company, or of its mode of acting, they knew nothing; and they were moreover, at this particular juncture, labouring under the miseries incident upon having their country made the theatre of recent war. To have committed to men ignorant of their dialect the charge of introducing among them the Company's authority, would have been an act of absolute insanity. Lord Cornwallis was not the person to fall into a blunder so gross as this; and he consequently made choice of military men, of whose fitness for the task he had obtained the most satisfactory proofs, to reconcile the people of Baramahl to their new masters. On this account it was that Captain Read received his appointment, in preference to any of the revenue officers properly so called; and he, for the very same reason, chose as his assistants Lieutenant Munro, with two other military gentlemen.

The sensation created by these arrangements among the civil servants at Madras was very great. No instance of the kind had ever occurred before; and the parties passed by, regardless of the causes which led to it, spoke loudly of the whole transaction as a heavy grievance. Perhaps there was nothing extraordinary in this. It very seldom happens that men see things in their proper light at the instant when a real or imaginary affront is received; and the Madras civilians would have incurred no serious blame, had they contented themselves with a few passing expressions of discontent. But unfortunately the matter ended not here. There arose an excessive jealousy of the military in general, and of the individuals thus employed in the revenue department in particular, which ceased not to work long after they

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had shown themselves in every respect qualified for the duties imposed upon them. Towards Mr. Munro, indeed, it continued to operate throughout the remainder of his public life, and its violence appeared to obtain fresh strength according to the progress which he made from one post of honour to another. Yet let justice be done to the civil servants. All were not actuated by unworthy feelings, whilst a spirit of emulation was stirred up which has produced the happiest effects, by inducing them to apply diligently to those studies, their backwardness in which alone brought upon them the disgrace of which they complained.

It was in the month of April 1792, that Mr. Munro entered upon the duties of his new office, which he continued to discharge up to the spring of 1799; and perhaps there was no period of his active life on which he ever looked back with greater satisfaction. It is true, that his duties were neither few nor unimportant. Besides the care of attending to the revenue accounts, and of keeping up a constant official correspondence, Mr. Munro was under the necessity of travelling continually from one part of his district to another, for the purpose of ascertaining from personal observation the condition of the people, and the capabilities and produce of the soil. Yet the climate appears to have been favourable; the face of the country was agreeable; and the means of intercourse with European society, if not ample, were at least not absolutely wanting. The consequence was, that almost all his letters, dated from various stations in the Baramahl, breathe a spirit of unceasing cheerfulness and good-humour, whether they discuss, as those addressed to his father usually do, subjects of Indian or European politics, or refer to points of literary or philosophical inquiry, as not unfrequently occurs in his correspondence with his sister. The following letter to his father, among other matters, gives an account of the circumstances which led to his

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acceptance of civil employment, amd may, therefore, not inaptly be placed at the head of the present selection.

Derampoory, 14th April, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

It will be unnecessary to say much of myself, as James* will tell you every thing you can wish to know respecting me; and also George Kippen, of whom you are so anxious that I should make honourable mention. I believe I have already told you, that I am perhaps more indebted to him than to Lord Cornwallis, or any body else, for my present appointment; for I declined once or twice Captain Read's proposals for acting with him again, between the months of July and October 1791, because the conclusion of the war, at that time, appeared still distant. I thought it improper to quit the grand army to join a detachment, employed only in the escort of provisions, and always far removed from the scene of action. Read, however, thought it a want of friendship, and applied for other assistants. His Lordship refused them: Kippen, on this, immediately set to work; puffed me off every where, as he does in Glasgow; talked and wrote to Read and me; and at last persuaded me to write that I had no objections to being employed in the revenue. The moment this was done, I was ordered to join Read at Bangalore. I formerly gave myself the merit of having been entirely influenced in this affair by the accounts of your situation at home; but had Kippen not exerted himself, I would certainly not have quitted the army; so that you see I have some reason for being "proud of my friend." You must not take all his expressions about me in a literal sense: he is so great a politician, that he thinks it necessary to make use of parliamentary-constitutional language on all occasions. A proud day, "proud of my honourable friend," are not reserved for me alone—every man that he meets with becomes, almost at the first blush, entitled to such honourable distinction; he wishes that people should not only be on good terms with themselves, but also with him; and both these ends he accomplishes, by being proud of his friends. When his reports are confirmed by ——— and other Indian travellers, you will hardly suspect that they have very little foundation. The ——— is a worthy man, and was much esteemed in this country; but I perceive by your letters, that his good-

* One of his brothers, who returned to Europe at this time in bad health.

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nature sometimes gets the better of his sincerity:—But what could he do? you anticipated his answers to your questions, and he was too polite to contradict you. You will perhaps not let me off so easy, when I tell you that he is a greater stranger to me than to you; and that you had more conversation with him at your first meeting, than I have had in the whole course of our acquaintance. I don't remember ever having been in company with him. I have sometimes rode in a crowd with him on the march during Hyder's war; and I believe the only tête-à-tête I ever had with him, was on Owen's expedition, when one of my legs swelled in consequence of standing all night in a torrent, that came down upon us in a narrow valley;—he attended me constantly twice a day for about a week, till I got well. From all this, I could not have supposed that he could have given you any other information about me than that we once had some very interesting conversation on fomentations.

I mentioned to you, in a former letter, the amount of my allowances, and that beyond them I cannot get a sixpence. I observe the Glasgow politicians have given a large fortune to Captain Read, and some *pickings* to me. Read is no ordinary character; he might, in Mysore, have amassed as much money as he chose, and by fair means too; but he was so far from taking advantage of his situation for this purpose, that he even gave up his bazaar and many other perquisites of his military command, and received nothing but his prize-money and commission, which altogether, I believe, amounted to about six thousand pounds. Whatever I might have done had I been left to myself, I could get no pickings under such a master, whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honour and the public interest. These, and an unwearied zeal in whatever he undertakes, constitute the great features of his character. The enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects, which seizes other men by fits and starts, is in him constant and uniform. These qualities, joined to an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people, and a happy talent for the investigation of every thing connected with revenue, eminently qualify him for the station which he now fills with so much credit to himself and benefit to the public. He will, however, I am afraid, be removed in March, or, at the farthest, July 1794, in order to conform to system, which requires that civilians only should be collectors. I have urged him to address Lord Cornwallis, to solicit a continuation in office; but I don't believe

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he will do it; his principle is to exert himself, and to leave it to Government to discover the necessity of employing him. When we were together at Seringapatam, during the cessation, I prevailed on him to apply for the management of the Baramahl. His Lordship replied, that he could not venture to interfere, for it would bring all the civilians on his head. He however, a few days after, actually sent him a commission, to command the forts in the ceded provinces, and to settle the revenue. Read was, however, of opinion, and I believe he was right, that Lord Cornwallis would have done this of himself, without any solicitation on his part.

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

The following is addressed to his sister, and breathes the same lively but reflective spirit which gives a tone to all his lighter correspondence.

Kisnagerry, 23d January, 1793.

DEAR ERSKINE,

Daniel, after all his disappointments, is, I believe, in a fair way of doing well; he is engaged in the indigo business, which has lately become of great consequence in Bengal, and is still rapidly increasing; and I imagine he attends closely to it; for Alexander says nothing of his having made excursions for several months. If he can only, in the course of a year or two, get clear of debt, and make a little money of his own, there can be no danger afterwards; for it is probable that success will give him a confidence which will not be shaken by any trifling losses he may in future experience. Alexander says, however, that he is the most desponding of mortals, and that he is always foreseeing calamities that never happen. This is quite different from me; for, though I have been half-starved for these dozen years, I have never ceased to look, with great confidence, for some signal piece of good fortune; and though I have, to be sure, been mistaken, this has had no other effect than that of making me more sanguine; for I don't reason, as philosophers do, from analogy, and other such matters. I don't say, bad luck to-day, and worse to-morrow; but rather, that bad luck, like other things, must have an end,—that mine having already lasted so long, is a strong argument that I cannot have much more of it; and that I may, therefore, like Quixote, very reasonably suppose myself

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to be on the point of achieving some rare adventures. And should I go on for another dozen years in the same way as the last, my confidence will hardly be diminished. Were it possible that I could, by any supernatural means, be informed that I should never be independent in my fortune, it would not, I believe, sit very heavy on my mind; for I have considered very seriously the consequences likely to follow my acquiring what is called a moderate fortune, and I have doubted if I should be more happy with it than I am without it.

After spending a great part of my life in India, I should not easily reconcile myself to sitting down quietly in a corner with people among whom, as I should begin my acquaintance so late, I should perhaps always remain a stranger. Should the want of society tempt me to fall in love, and get a wife, such a change would, I fear, add little to my happiness. Would it not be a very comfortable matter, about the end of the century, to read in the Glasgow Courier—" Yesterday was married Lieutenant Munro, the eldest subaltern in the East India Company's service, to Miss ——, one of the eldest maiden ladies of this place. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. ——, in the Ramshorn, and immediately after the happy couple," &c. I have no relish, I suspect, for what is called domestic felicity. I could not endure to go about gossiping, and paying formal visits with my wife, and then coming home and consulting about a change in our furniture, or physicking some of the squalling children that Providence might bless us with. You will say—" You will be a more respectable character at home, settled with your family, than wandering about India like a vagabond." But I cannot perceive that the one situation is more creditable than the other. Men, in general, go home, and stay in this country, for the same reason—to please themselves—not to raise their own or the national character; and the greater part of them go to their graves without having done either much good or much harm in this world. Why should I be eager to scrape together a little money, to go and linger through twenty or thirty dull years, in a family way, among my relations and neighbours? In a place like Glasgow, I should be tired in all companies, with disputes about the petty politics of the town, of which I know nothing, and anecdotes of families, in whose concerns I am in no way interested. Among the merchants, I should be entertained with debates on sugar and tobacco, except when some one touched

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upon cotton, which would give me an opportunity of opening my mouth, and letting the company know that I had been in India, and seen one species growing on bushes, and another on trees taller than any that adorn the Green. After thus expending all my knowledge, I should not again venture to interrupt the conversation. Should I, after being tired of preserving silence among these gentlemen, saunter towards the College, for the purpose of having some discourse on general topics of literary taste, of which men in all professions may talk, and, in some measure, judge; here I should encounter the prejudices and dissensions of small societies. If I spoke to Mr. Richardson of Macbeth, he would probably start, and reply in a fine frenzy—"John Anderson hath murdered sleep!"—and send me home in amazement, like Hamlet, "with each particular hair on end." After making my escape from the professor of the "rolling eye," should I give up the men in despair, and hasten to some of my old female acquaintances, to see if they talked any thing nearer the level of common understanding, I should very likely find them in high argument on some abstruse point of the mitre and pine-apple schisms.

In a place filled with nothing but sectarians of some kind or other, I should search in vain for any rational entertainment; and, instead of congratulating myself on having been able to return and live in my native country, I should look back with regret to the society and the interesting wars of India. It is this circumstance,—the not perceiving any new sources of honour or happiness that could arise to me from the possession of money, that makes me indifferent about it, any farther than just to get enough to place me above want. My indifference, however, is only confined to a moderate fortune; it does not extend to a great one, for that would enable me to spend money without troubling myself much about accounts, and to live in any part of the world I should like best. I could have my town and country-house, where you might display your taste without beggaring me. We should look out for a spot with plenty of wood; rocks and water would be wanting to complete the landscape,—but these are easily found in Scotland.

After putting you in possession of these three great elements of natural beauty, I should expect that you would lay out the *policy*, and that you would manage your rocks, and woods, and cascades, in such a way as to make me fancy myself in Arcadia,

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or the Candia of Mr. Savary, or the fabulous Tinian of Anson; and if they were not to my taste, I should entreat James's poetical friend, Mr. ——, to celebrate both you and them in his unwieldy numbers. But we can talk more of this when some of my dreams are realized. James has, I believe, said every thing you can wish to know of himself and me. I expect your chef-d'œuvre, Margaret's picture, in a few days, from Madras.

Your affectionate brother.

TO THE SAME.

[*Giving an account of the arrival of her miniature.—The date is wanting.*]

You fell into the hands of James George Graham at Madras; James can tell you who he is; and he marched you off for the Baramahl without giving me any notice of your approach. I happened to call at Kisnagerry a few days after your arrival. There was a meeting of the officers to read some papers respecting the arrangements of the army, and you were introduced. I thought you were one of Graham's female cousins whom he had just returned from visiting, and I declared that it was highly improper that the gravity of our deliberations should be interrupted by women. I had just seized you, to force you into your dark retreat, when the secret was discovered. You may easily guess that I granted you a reprieve, and surveyed you with more inquiring eyes, and with very different feelings, but still I could find no traces of the countenance which I once so well knew. I could perceive no marks of age to account for this change; but time, without making you old, has worked such a total revolution either on your looks or my memory, that you are now a perfect stranger to me. I cannot think that the fault is mine, for in general I remember long and distinctly both what I read and what I see. It must be you who have thrown off your old face and disguised yourself with a new one. I suspect, however, that the painter has assisted, for there was a Lieutenant Noble, from Greenock, present, who declares that he has often seen you and recollects you perfectly, yet he did not know your picture. The consolation to be derived from all this is, that we cannot meet after a separation of twenty years exactly as we parted. I have not been idle in that time, as you shall see when I return to expose my sun-dried beauty.

(Here again several lines are lost.)

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I have myself so vulgar a taste, that I see more beauty in a plain dress than in one tricked out with the most elegant pattern that ever fashionable painter feigned. This unhappy depravity of taste has been occasioned, perhaps, by my having been so long accustomed to view the Brahmin women, who are in this country both the first in rank and in personal charms, almost always arrayed in nothing but single pieces of dark blue cotton cloth, which they throw on with a decent art and a careless grace which in Europe, I am afraid, is only to be found in the drapery of Antiques. The few solitary English ladies that I meet with only serve to strengthen my prejudices. I met with one the other day all bedizened and huddled into a new habit, different from any thing that I had ever seen before. On asking her what name it went by, she was surprised that I did not know the *à la Grecque*. It looked for all the world like a large petticoat thrown over her shoulders, and drawn together close under her arms. I could not help smiling to think how Ganganelli, and the Abbé Winkelman, and the King of Naples, would have stared had they dug such a Greek as this out of Herculaneum. The fashions of the gentlemen are probably as fantastical as those of the ladies, though from having them continually before my eyes, the absurdity of them does not strike me so much. We have black and white hats, thunder and lightning coats, stockings of seven colours, and tamboured waistcoats bedaubed with flowers, and more tawdry finery than ever was exhibited on old tapestry. I have heard some military geniuses deplore very feelingly the neglect into which three-cocked hats had fallen. They have been accustomed when they were young to see some strutting warlike phantom or other with a hat of this kind, and they can never afterwards look upon it without being filled with ideas of slaughter and devastation. They think that in it consists half the discipline of armies, and that the fate of nations depends as much upon the cock of the hat as of the musket. I see so many turbans and handkerchiefs every day, and so seldom any hats but round ones, that I have lost all taste for the sublime, and think a three-cornered hat as absurd a piece of head-dress as a tiara. I wonder that the women, among all their changes of fashions, never thought of trying it. If I were sure that any one of the nine Muses had ever worn one, I would advise Mrs. Grant to do the same, but I suspect she is like Professor M——, too much degenerated from her ancestors to try it. I think she had

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no right to accuse the long-descended Celtic bard of effeminacy, when she herself has forgotten the simplicity of her ancestors, and does not hesitate to drink tea and ride about the country in worsted stockings. I do not find that Malvina had a single pair, or even Agandecca, who lived farther north, and had a better excuse for such an indulgence. What these two ladies drank at the feast of shells, if they drank at all, I don't know. It might have been whiskey, but certainly was not tea. If the Muses must drink, as most poets tell us, it is perhaps as well that they should drink tea as any thing else: but it is no where said that they must wear worsted stockings. This unhappy corruption of manners would be inexcusable in an ordinary woman, but poetry covers a multitude of sins, and Mrs. Grant has a lyre which Ossian would have laid aside his harp to hear, and to which it is impossible to listen without forgetting all her offences against the customs of her forefathers, the bare-legged bards of other times. The Professor, though not born a Poet, seems to have taken some trouble to make himself one, and if he has, like most modern Sophs, been unsuccessful in conjuring up any sprite of his own, he has at least no common merit in having called forth the muse of Mrs. Grant with

> "Poetic transports of the maddening mind,
> And winged words that waft the soul to heaven."

In her journal she has used the privilege, which superior geniuses often do, of writing carelessly. I lose much of the interest of the piece from not being acquainted with any of the characters she describes. Her ladies are all from the Grandison school—so full of smiles and gaiety, and wit and sense, and so charming and divine—that I am almost as happy as she is herself, when escaping from George's-square, to get into the open fields, and follow her through Bedley's ancient Grove, "by Carron's streams or banks of Forth." There is so much of inspiration in her poetry, on seeing the Perthshire Hills and Allan Water, that I am much out of humour at being forced away in such a hurry to drink port at the Inn: but she, however, makes ample amends at Killikranky; and again, where we

> "Hear young voices sounding on the mountain gale."

The whole is so animated, that it makes me more impatient than ever I was before to see the scenes which she describes. And were I not afraid of being taken for a Nassau, or some other foreigner,

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on all of whom Mrs. G. looks so indignant from her misty mountains, I would mount the yellow horse, and pay her a visit. She has the same faults that all modern poets have, and that you give us a specimen of in your Celestial Spark—she is continually running after the ancients. A man cannot look into an ode, or sonnet, or any thing else, but he is instantly thrown over "Lethe' Wharf," or plunged into Cocytus. The hills and the glens of the Highlands are as wild as any of the old poetical regions: or, if they are too vulgar from being so well known, yet still we have other scenes of real nature—the wilds of America and Africa, the Andes with all its rushing streams, and the frozen seas in the Polar regions, with their dismal islands never trod by human foot—sublimer subjects of poetry than all the fictions of Greece and Rome. In Burns's best poems there is no mythology. I don't care how many Scandinavians we have, but I am almost sick of Jupiter and Neptune. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

Darrampoory, 21st January, 1794.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I HAVE had no reason for some years to complain of your correspondence, except in one point, that it has, in general, I believe, cost me more time to read than you to write. Had it not been for the assistance of James and George Kippen, I should never have been able to make out a number of old characters whom you have introduced at different times under new names. But now that I have got a key from them, you may write away without fear; for I am, to use a figure of your own, "up to every thing," Even the Governor-General will not now make me, like the Persian poets, scratch the head of thought with the nails of despair. All your letters for James this season have fallen into my hands: but I must look for no more, as I hope he is now near enough to tell you of all his sufferings in this country, and the doctors of their mistaken notions of climates and constitutions, though not to convince them; this, like other great works, is, I suppose, reserved for your millennium, when the world is to be inhabited only by Marats and modest physicians. James has as much reverence for the faculty as yourself, and would not venture to confute any of them, however much he might think them in the wrong. He would rather sit among

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them as silent as a young Pythagorean, swallowing, like pills for his mental constitution, all the profound nothings they utter. This is not the case with you; for if it was, I am sure you would not admire their company so much as you do: for, from your letters, I should expect, on going home, to see you with a scalping knife rather than a pencil in your hand, and to find more skeletons than pictures in your room. You mention no less than eight or nine doctors in one letter. There is Maclane and M'Farlane, and Cowan and Murray, and five more; and you speak of them all with as much kindness and affection as Madame Sévigné does of her daughters. It is they, I suspect, who are the cause of your so often complaining of want of time, and of being hurried in writing your Indian letters; for Andrew Ross, of whom James can give you some account, once told me that he had been kept idle for near five years by one doctor, the Rev. Mr. Bell, who lived in his house. I remember having been a witness one day of the manner in which he effected this:—he heard the Doctor speaking to me, and called him into his visiting room, when he immediately commenced a learned discourse. "Well, Sir, have you shown Lady Campbell the ice you made this morning?—have you got your air-pump in order?—have you seen Mr. Spalding's diving machine?"—and was proceeding with fifty more questions, when he was interrupted by the guns of the ship, which was to carry the letters he was then writing, saluting the fort on her leaving the roads for Europe. On this, he started up, turned out the philosopher, ordered his servant to get a catamaran, or raft, to chase the ship with his dispatches; finished his letter in about an hour, and then came to me, when we both began to abuse the doctor, who had by this time taken shelter up-stairs in his museum.—"This is the most preposterous man I ever met with; he always makes a point of coming to me when he sees me busy, and when he knows too that it is a matter of consequence about which I am engaged, and of pestering me with absurd talk about ice, and air-pumps, and diving-bells, and such like trumpery." I don't know if the conversation of your Doctors turns on the same subjects as that of Mr. Ross's, but it seems to have the same effect on your correspondence. It is now about fifteen years since I left home, and in all that time you have not sent me a single letter which has not been written just as the post was going away, or the ship weighing anchor, and in which our father is not blamed for keeping so bad a look-out.

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"I have just had a dreadful fright,—I have this moment been terribly alarmed,—my father has this instant informed me that I am too late," is the exordium to every one of them. I now receive such tidings without emotion, but it was not the case at first; when on breaking the seal such terrible, dreadful words met my eyes, I had no power to read farther; I stood aghast, with the fatal letter ready to drop from my hand like the ring or bracelet or other token from that of a hero or heroine in tragedy. I was filled, as the poets say, with dire alarms—I had the most dismal presages,—I thought that death in the shape of a Doctor had triumphed over Mrs. Maxwell the brewer, or untimely stopped the tuneful tongues of the Blackstone Signoras. But after mustering, I believe the ladies say stringing, all my scattered nerves, and venturing to cast another melancholy glance on the letter, I discovered that the postboy, by not waiting for you, had been the innocent cause of your horrible frights and of my constitution suffering such a shock as had almost entirely unhinged my woe-worn frame. So much for the pathetic. I begin now to be very anxious to hear from home; it is almost time to have accounts of James's arrival. I wish to know what effect the voyage has had on him. Mr. Hoar, Paymaster of the army, the two last campaigns, was his fellow passenger, and would, I am sure, pay him every attention. The doctors tell me that his complaint can only be removed by medical assistance at home. I am also a good deal uneasy about Foulis, who was ill at the date of my father's last letter; he has now had a long period of bad health, and for the greatest part of the four last years he has been very little better than when my father saw him in Edinburgh. When I saw him last in the beginning of 1791, both his looks and his temper were so much changed from what they had been three years before, that I hardly knew him again; but the moment that he recovers his health, his flow of spirits will return, and you will see that I have not said more of him than he deserves. You have by this time, I suppose, met your old acquaintance Colin M—— again; if you wish to learn any thing respecting this country apply to him, for no one is more able to answer all your questions—he has read a great deal, chiefly politics, he has a great fund of information, and his head is clear and methodical, and you may depend on the correctness of whatever he tells you—he is studious, and as inquisitive as Kippen, though not like him troublesome in his inquiries; he

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has much more acquired knowledge than Foulis, but is very inferior to him in natural endowments. M—— knows more of books, and Foulis more of men. I hear nothing of George Kippen, except that he is cantoned at Cuddalore, and that he is much admired by the French officers at Pondicherry for making so much stir in the public rooms there; he is, I am told, grown prodigiously fat. There is another acquaintance of yours at Pondicherry—Captain ———. I have never yet met him in India, but an officer lately arrived at Kisnagerry from Pondicherry, told me a few days ago, that he had given him a very full account of all our exploits at school. Now I remember no more of him than Falstaff did of Justice Shallow; that he was a puny creature, and looked for all the world like a forked radish with a head fantastically carved upon it. Daniel is very well pleased with his situation; his manufacture must be going on as he wishes, and I suppose he writes to you of it, and I hope will in a few years visit you along with one of his Indigo cargoes. Alexander is only beginning, and from his connection with Mr. Johnson, there can be no doubt of his success.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO CAPTAIN ALLEN.

[*Explanatory of the Revenue System pursued in Baramahl.*]

8th June, 1794.

YOU seem to think that I have a great stock of hidden knowledge of revenue and other matters, which I am unwilling to part with; I have already given you the little I had, and your own experience of the ceded countries will supply the rest. I have more than once endeavoured to convince you that we have no mysteries, that we have made no new discoveries, and that our only system is plain hard labour. Whatever success may have hitherto attended the management of these districts is to be ascribed to this talent alone, and it must be unremittingly exerted, not so much to make collections as to prevent them, by detecting and punishing the authors of private assessments, which are made in almost every village in India. We have only to guard the Ryots from oppression, and they will create the revenue for us. Captain Read, in order to be enabled to turn his attention to general arrangements, has divided the ceded countries among his assistants into three divisions. These are again subdivided into

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Tihsildaries, few of which are under ten or above thirty thousand pagodas. The Tihsildars, who have charge of them, are mere receivers of the revenue, for they can neither raise nor lower the rent of a single individual. They are not permitted to give any decision, unless on matters of the most trifling nature. To refer all disputes respecting property to a court of arbitration, to order the members of such courts to assemble, to receive the kists from the head farmers of the villages, and the accounts from the village accountants, and to transmit them to the collector of the division, is the whole of their duty. Every Tihsildary is farmed out in villages to the Gours, or head farmers, who, having the management of the details of cultivation, may be considered as the renters of the country, though they are in fact (unless in some particular cases,) answerable only for the amount of their own particular lands, for the whole inhabitants are jointly answerable for the revenue of the village, which is seldom less than ten or more than a thousand pagodas. Every man who pays a single rupee to Government has the rent of his land fixed by the division collector, for which he has a roll signed by him, specifying the nature and quantity of it, and the periods of payment. As the Gour can demand no more than the stipulated rent, he can of course gain nothing by the Ryots, and as every man enjoys the profits of his own land, it is for these reasons that the whole are made jointly responsible for any deficiency. The Gour, in consideration of the troubles of his office, has a small piece of ground rent-free. By farming the country in such detail, every division contains near twenty-one thousand renters, the greatest part of whom having been always accustomed to be plundered by their Gours, in league with an army of revenue officers under the Mysore Government, still (notwithstanding constant exhortations to pay no more than their fixed rent, and to give no money without receipts,) submit to private levies without complaining. It is the most difficult part of the collector's business to discover these impositions, but in the present state of things it is impossible wholly to prevent them. If he is vigilant, he may reduce them, perhaps, to five per cent.; if he is remiss, they will soon rise to fifty: nothing will effectually put an end to them but a long lease, which, for this and many other reasons, ought to be hastened as much as possible. From many circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I am convinced that the Brahmins of the different cutcherries, in the ceded districts, collect privately

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above fifty thousand rupees a year for favouring certain individuals in the valuation of their lands at the annual settlements; and this may be estimated as the cause of the loss of more than a lac to the public, because the sum of rents excused must be more than the sum paid, otherwise no advantage would arise to the payers from the transaction, and because every Ryot must keep a little money in hand to bribe the Brahmins, which ought to have been laid out for the purpose of cultivation. An example will show you how easily these operations can be carried on. There is a village with ten Ryots, who last year paid each ten pagodas; it is this year worth one hundred and ten. One or two of the head farmers, who ought to pay fifteen each, say to the Brahmins, let our lands remain at ten, and we will pay you five; you can add five to the village for the benefit of Government, and we will point out two men who can afford to pay it. If the two men whose lands are thus overrated complain, which they do not always do, the collector may go to the spot; but as he knows nothing of the value of land, he must consult the inhabitants. They all declare the valuation is just, because they are afraid that if any remission is allowed, it will be laid upon them. What can the collector do? there is a majority of four to one against the sufferers. He goes home, convinced that the complaint is frivolous, and satisfied with having gained five per cent. for the revenue.

The gross revenue of the present year, which ends in July, is five hundred and eleven thousand pagodas. The expenses of collection will, I imagine, be about seven and a half per cent. surveyors one and a half, and commissioners five per cent. making altogether fourteen per cent. The land rent is about four hundred and sixty thousand, the remaining fifty-one thousand are customs, which are composed of road duties, taxes on ploughs, houses, and particular castes. The last has been in part abolished, and ought to be wholly so, as well as the first, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two articles which might affect our own manufactures; but all duties ought long ago to have been taken off cotton. Almost the whole of the land-rent arises from grain, of which raggy, rice, and bajera make about four-fifths. The season of sowing raggy, rice, and bajera, is from the end of June to the end of August; if later, they will hardly cover the expense of cultivation. Reckoning back to the beginning of May, the earlier they are sown the more abundant the produce; but sowing is uncommon in May, for rain is hardly ever in suffi-

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cient abundance till the end of June. Of these grains the two first remain six months in the ground. Dall and the oil-nut are sown with raggy, and pulled a month later. There are severa kinds of rice which remain only four months in the ground, and are grown at all seasons of the year when there is water, but two crops from them do not yield so much as one of the rice. The time of collection is from January to June, in order to give the Ryots time to convert their grain into money. Cotton and sugar are grown in such small quantities that they cannot be called sources of revenue. The remainder of the land produce consists chiefly of different kinds of dall, and the nut and small grain from which oil is made. The ceded countries have very little trade—the jealousy of Tippoo's Government prevents much intercourse with Mysore—his possession of Coimbatore cuts them off from the Malabar Coast, to which they used formerly to send great quantities of cloth, and the heavy duties check the communication with the Carnatic, there being no less than sixteen stages where customs are exacted between the Baramahl and Madras. The imports from above the Ghauts are cotton from the Nizam's country, and betel-nut and dyeing-woods from Tippoo's dominions. The exports to the westward are a small quantity of cloth and bajera. To the eastward little cloth goes but that of the Company's investment; dall and oil-nut are the principal articles sent there; they amounted last year to about a lac and a half of pagodas, and the demand appears to be increasing. The imports from the Carnatic are only salt, and a few trifling European articles. The inhabitants of this country, from the long series of oppression they have undergone, are in general very poor; few of the farmers are, I believe, worth a thousand pagodas, and scarcely one merchant worth a thousand pounds. The exertions of industry have always been restrained by the demands of Government keeping pace with their profit, and often outrunning them. The tanks are few, and having been neglected ever since Hyder made himself master of Mysore, are in so ruinous a condition that it will require a considerable sum to save the present produce of the land beneath them from being lost altogether. The ceded countries have, however, many natural advantages, and are capable of great improvements. The first step for the attainment of this object must be the settlement of the lease at a moderate rent, for all attempts to better their situation will be in vain as long as the land-tax is not only high but arbitrary; let it be low and fixed and it will be soon seen

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that the prosperity of the farmer will extend to every source of revenue. By the lease every man will become sole master of his own land; when he pays his rent there will be no farther claims against him, unless when it may be necessary, which will rarely be the case, to contribute jointly with the other inhabitants to make up a deficiency in the village. Every man will have as much ground as he can cultivate, the waste will be reserved by Government to be disposed of as population and cultivation increase. The gradual but certain progress of the country in wealth and industry will, in a few years, make ample amends for any little sacrifice of land-rent; we shall have no long arrears of balances, no calls for remission; the collection of the revenue will become easy and regular, and the present shameful system, if such it may be called, of a continual struggle between the inhabitants to elude, and the collector to enforce payment, will be done away. The farmer, when convinced by the experience of two or three years that he has not been deceived as formerly by false promises, but is in reality the proprietor of his land, and that all its produce beyond the rent is his own, will begin to exert himself, and, where he now cultivates grain for a bare subsistence, will raise cotton and sugar-cane. The road-duties must be abolished to enable these articles to go to market to advantage, and it were to be wished that the Nabob could be prevailed on to do the same in his country. The weavers should be left at liberty to work when they please, and not forced or inveigled into the Company's service, and when once engaged never allowed to quit it. The fear of this treatment deters many from coming from Tippoo's country who wish to settle here; no restraint of any kind should be used, if it is wished that manufactures should thrive. The abolishing of road duties, the giving liberty to weavers to work whenever they find it most for their advantage, and the fixing the land-rent, would soon change the face of the country. The people, as they advanced in wealth, would become more expensive in their modes of life, and their luxuries becoming in the course of time articles of taxation, would amply compensate for the loss of road customs.

Hyder's system of finance was much the same as under all other native governments; he rented the country in large districts to Amildars, who were pretty regular in their payments because the terms were favourable, but besides collecting the public revenue, they amassed large sums for themselves. Hyder having information of this from the numerous spies he employed,

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ordered them to Durbar, stripped them of their money, gave them a small present, and sent them to another district to renew the same operations. Tippoo began his reign with changing every civil and military arrangement of his father, and he changed his own almost every year, and always on these occasions framed new codes of regulations to send to different provinces; his last was much the same as we have now in the ceded country, only that he endeavoured to excite the warfare between the civil and military powers, after the manner in which it has been so long and so successfully carried on in the northern chiefships. The two lines were entirely distinct. The military was under an officer called the Suddoor, and the civil under another called the Assoph. One of each was stationed at Kisnagerry and Senkledroog. The Baramahl formed one government, and Darrampoor, Pinagre, and Tingricottah with the country below Tappoor another. Though all Killadars were under the Suddoor, he could neither remove nor appoint without orders from Tippoo, and in the same manner, though the Assoph had the superintendence of the revenue, his power over the Tishildars, who were in every district as at present, was equally confined: he could not interfere in the detail of the revenue; every Tishildar settled the amount of his own district, and rented out the villages separately to the Gours or head farmers. The Tishildar received a small monthly pay, and was supposed to derive no other advantage from his situation; he remitted his collections to the Assoph, by whom they were forwarded to Seringapatam. The Suddoor and the Assoph were directed to hold their cutcherries in the same hall, in order that all the transactions of the two departments might be public and known to both; but all these checks served only to diminish the revenue. All parties soon found that it was wiser to agree and divide the public money than to quarrel and send their complaints to the Sultan; the Assoph and the Suddoor with their cutcherries, the Tishildars and their cutcherries, and the land farmer and accountant of the village, all had their respective shares, which were as well ascertained as their pay. The whole amounted, on an average, throughout the extent of Tippoo's dominions to above thirty per cent., being in some provinces more, and in some less, according to their distance from the seat of Government. Then as well as now the farmers were the only renters. The total collections were nearly the same, and the difference between the sums carried to account of the Company, and those which found their

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way to Tippoo's treasury, is to be entirely ascribed to the difference between the personal character of Captain Read and of Tippoo's Assophs.

Mr. James Munro, to whom several of the letters introduced into the preceding chapter are addressed, was a young man of exceedingly delicate constitution and sensitive mind. After vainly struggling, for some time, against the influence of a tropical climate, he was compelled at last to quit the country, in which his prospects, had he been able to remain, were becoming daily more and more bright. The following observations, suggested by that event, contain so much truth and genuine philosophy, that I transcribe them at length. They are contained in a letter which is addressed to Mr. Munro's sister, and bears date 25th April, 1793.

The first part of this letter is missing.

I consider life as valuable, merely in proportion to the comforts and pleasures it affords; and I would rather have them strewed through its whole course, than treasured up for its last remnants. It appears to me little better than madness for a man to expend his best days in toiling through a perpetual succession of irksome scenes, from the absurd hope of retiring to happiness, when the period of enjoyment is gone. If James, by visiting Europe again, acquire one idea, or an hour of comfort more than he could have done by remaining in India, I shall think him well employed—much better than if he had, while lingering under a painful disorder in this country, amassed a large fortune in the course of a number of years, and retired at an advanced age, among his relations, to build a house and take a wife; as if he lived only for posterity, or as if we were all created, like Jews in the Old Testament, solely for the purpose of filling up so many links in a chain of prophets. The two next years will be probably the happiest of all James's life, and those to which he will hereafter, with most fondness, look back, instead of two years of constant pain under the burning rock of Kisnagerry; he will recover his health, and return to his friends and native country, when he has been long enough absent to make him impatient to see them, but not to diminish his attachment. He will sail, I hope, in the King George, in the first week in May. You will

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find him as Scottish as ever: he will, however, I dare say, presume upon his travels, and venture to correct your pronunciation, and perhaps even our father's in the Sunday evening sermons.

The following letter to his father speaks for itself. It is only necessary to observe, that his relatives, with natural pride, had on several occasions communicated his remarks on revenue matters to men in power,—a custom which he very judiciously discourages. It was written during one of his official tours, and bears date

Bank of the Cavery, opposite to Erode,
31st January, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I SEE that you catch at every thing from which you think that there is any chance of my drawing the smallest benefit hereafter; but I suspect that my communications will not much forward the accomplishment of your wishes: they might raise the curiosity of Mr. P., but could give him no very favourable opinion of me. This, however, is of little importance, as it is not likely that his sentiments will ever affect my views, either in one way or another; but had I sent the statement, though it could have done me no service, it might in his hands have done me much injury. My opinions on this subject are already known to the Revenue Board as individuals, though never communicated to them as a public body. They are anxious to gain information from every quarter, in order to reform past abuses. Whatever is given privately, they take in good part; but it cannot be supposed they would relish a newspaper attack. It is of more consequence for me to be well with them than Mr. P., for my future progress must depend on my own exertions and their support. There is but little probability that he would interest himself about me; and if he did, it can hardly be imagined that Mr. Dundas would, upon such a recommendation, take any step in my favour; his doing so would be highly improper, for it is from the reports of the Government and the Board of Revenue, under whom I immediately act, and not from my own, that he ought to form his judgment of my fitness for being entrusted with a civil employment.

Great additions might certainly be made to the Company's revenue on the coast. The first step should be to find proper men to manage it; for, unless this is done, every attempt at

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improvement will be in vain. No man should get the charge of a district, who does not understand the language of the natives; for, unless he had perseverance enough for this, he will never have enough for a collector; and he would besides be kept under the dominion of his servants, and ignorant of every thing that was passing around him. Government have at last been convinced of the necessity of such a regulation; and Sir Charles Oakeley, just before he departed, issued an order, that after the 1st of January, 1796, no person would be appointed a collector who did not understand some of the country languages. To this knowledge and zeal in fulfilling the duties of their station, collectors should also unite a sound constitution, capable of bearing heat and fatigue; for if they are not active in going about their districts, and seeing every thing themselves, the petty officers under them, in combination with the head-farmers, will make away with the revenue on pretence of bad seasons. In this country, where there are so few Europeans, and where all business of taxation is transacted in a strange language, Government have scarcely any means of learning how the collector conducts himself, except from his own reports; and to think of preventing his embezzlements by multiplying official checks, would only be an idle waste of time and money. This evil, which can never be entirely removed, would best be remedied by selecting men of industry and talents, and placing them beyond the necessity of perverting the public money to their private use. A collector ought to have at least a thousand pagodas a month; he will probably have been eight or ten years in the country before he receives his appointment; and allowing that he remains ten more, and that he annually spends half his income, which he may do without being very extravagant, by having no fixed place of abode, and keeping an extra number of servants and horses for frequent travelling, he may, at the end of twenty years, return home not much richer than he ought to be. The Revenue Board made some time ago an application for an increase of salary to collectors, which Government rejected, with great marks of displeasure; but, in doing this, they showed little knowledge either of true policy or human nature; for when men are placed in situations where they can never become independent by their avowed emoluments, but where they may also, by robbing the public without any danger of discovery, become so on a sudden, the number of those who would balance which side to take, is so small, that it ought not to be brought into the account. We see every day collectors, who always lived above their salary, amass-

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ing great fortunes in a very few years. The operation by which this is accomplished is very simple. When rents are paid in money, by giving government a rent-roll below the real one, and when in kind, by diminishing the produce of the land or of the sales. It is in vain to say that collectors, being men of education and character, will not descend to such practices; the fact is against this conclusion. It is the same thing whether it is done by themselves or by those under them. It may be said, that their gains arise from the successful trade of their agents; but when these very agents are invested with all their authority, and can, by pushing the payment of the rents, and other contrivances, get the whole produce of the lands into their hands at their own price, it is easy to see how dear such a trade costs both Government and the people. The immediate deduction, though considerable, is not all the loss that revenue sustains,—the obstruction of improvement ought also to be reckoned; for men occupied in such schemes cannot have much leisure to attend to the extension of cultivation.

The collector cannot expect that the country is to flourish, when he himself has given the signal to plunder it. The numerous band of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed; but they now act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers, in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours. This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippoo, under the Company, and, I believe, under every government in India. The collectors and their deputies, not being paid, help themselves, and by this means the country is often as much harassed in peace as in war. The private dividend among Tippoo's managers is from twenty to forty per cent. a great part of the Nabob's revenues are remitted through agents to Madras at three and four per cent. per month. The rents in some parts of the Carnatic are regulated by the grain sown, every kind paying a different rate, and in others they are levied in kind; and, in all, the leases are annual. Where the rents are fixed according to the grain, the lands are measured every year. The surveyors, in making their reports, are guided by the bribes they receive, and a thousand frauds are practised both on the farmers and the Government; and where they are collected in kind, the produce of the land is either thrown upon the cultivator, at a price much above its value, or else a standard is fixed for the market, below which no person can sell until the whole of the public grain has been disposed of.

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Such wretched management, one would think, must soon ruin the country; but the universal custom of early marriages is favourable to population; and the inhabitants, under all their oppressions, seldom quit their native villages, because they are attached to them, and can go nowhere that they will not experience the same treatment. They soon forget their wrongs, for they must live; and they again cultivate their fields the succeeding year, with the certainty of being plundered in the same manner as the last. This insecurity of property, though a great obstacle to the increase of revenue, does not diminish it much; for, as the greatest part of it is at present drawn from grain, the source of it cannot be lessened in any great degree, without starving the inhabitants; and they will not want subsistence as long as it can be provided so easily. A man has only to furnish himself with a couple of bullocks,—a plough hardly costs a sixpence. If he turns up the soil three or four inches, and scatters his seed, he is sure of a sufficient return. Were we to abandon our present oppressive mode of taxation, the country, instead of rice and dry grain, would be covered with plantations of betel, cocoa-nut, sugar, indigo, and cotton; and the people would take a great deal of our manufactures, for they are remarkably fond of many of them, particularly of scarlet; but, unfortunately, few of them can afford to wear it. Many Bramins use a square piece of it as a cloak, during the wet and cold weather; but I don't remember ever seeing any of the farmers with it. When they can appear fine, and think there is no danger in doing so, there is no doubt but that great numbers of them will substitute it for the camly, a coarse thick woollen stuff, with which all of them are provided, which they carry in all seasons to defend themselves from the sun and rain, and on which they sit by day and sleep by night.

It is a mistaken notion that Indians are too simple in their manners to have any passion for foreign manufactures. In dress, and every kind of dissipation but drinking, they are at least our equals. They are hindered from taking our goods, not by want of inclination, but either by poverty, or the fear of being reputed rich, and having their rents raised. When we relinquish the barbarous system of annual settlements; when we make over the lands, either in very long leases, or in perpetuity, to the present occupants; and when we have convinced them, by making no assessments above the fixed rent, for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, we shall see a demand for European articles, of which we have at present no con-

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ception. If we look only to the security of our own power in this country, it would perhaps be wiser to keep the lands, as they now are, in the possession of Government, giving them to the inhabitants in leases of from five to twenty years, than to make them over to them for ever, because there is reason to fear that such a property may beget a spirit of independence, which may one day prove dangerous to our authority; but neither the present revenue, nor any future increase of it, can be depended upon, while our military force is inadequate to the defence of our territories, and while the enemy can ravage them, and drive away the people, without our being able to hinder them. We require for this purpose at least six or seven thousand cavalry: an invasion would cost us more in six months than the additional expense of such a corps would amount to in ten years. While our army is composed only of infantry, our power here will always be in the most critical situation in the time of war; for one defeat may ruin us; because against an enemy strong in horse, defeat and extirpation are the same. He may lose many battles without much injury to his affairs, because we cannot pursue; but by one victory he annihilates our army. It was on this principle that Hyder fought us so often in 1781; and had he once defeated Sir Eyre Coote, he would soon have been master of every place in the Carnatic but Madras. Four or five thousand horse might just now lay waste the Carnatic, and Tippoo, by following rapidly with the main body, might make it a very difficult and tedious business for us to collect our scattered army to oppose him. He might, in the mean time, collect and drive off the inhabitants; the communication with his own country would be secured by posting a detachment at Policade,—for Kishnagerry, the only place of consequence in the neighbourhood, is above fifteen miles from the great road, and as the garrison is only one battalion, no party could be spared from it to interrupt the march of his convoys. But if we had six or seven thousand cavalry, such an invasion could not with safety be attempted: irregular horse would not venture alone into the Carnatic; and if they waited till Tippoo marched with his infantry, our army might be drawn together in time to oppose him at entering, or at least to overtake him before he could reascend the Ghauts. He might be forced to fight, and the loss of a battle, at so great a distance from home, and against an enemy now strong in cavalry, might be attended by the total destruction of his army. There is no way of protecting the country but by such

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a body of horse: it would be more effectual than a dozen of forts. The revenues of the Carnatic, under proper management, might, in a few years, yield the additional sum that would be required for this establishment.

It is of the greatest importance to have a well-appointed army, not only to carry us successfully through a war, but also to deter any of our neighbours from attacking us; because, whether beaten or not, they still receive some new instruction in the military art. Though they are averse to innovations, yet the force of example will at last operate on them as well as on other people.. Their improved mode of carrying on war is a sufficient proof of this; and if they continue to make such advances as they have done under Hyder, Scindiah, and Tippoo, they will, in thirty or forty years, be too powerful for any force that we can oppose to them. It is on this account very absurd policy to keep two battalions with the Nizam, to teach him, or his successor, to fight us. He has already formed above twenty corps on the same model. We have got a strange fancy, that, for the sake of the balance of power, it is necessary to support him against the Mahrattas; but we have less to fear from them than from him and Tippoo; because the Moors are more ready than the Hindoos in adopting the improvements of strangers, and are likewise, by the spirit of their religion, strongly impelled to extend their empire. I am convinced, that were the Mahrattas to overturn both the Mohammedan powers, we would be more secure than at present. They would see that nothing was to be gained by attacking us, and would therefore let us remain quiet, and either fight among themselves, or turn their arms to the northward: and when they had only Asiatics to contend with, they would by degrees lose the little of European discipline which they have already learned. I believe I have all this time only been repeating what I have often said to you before. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following letters to his sister contrast powerfully with the preceding. The first contains an ingenious and amusing attack upon the principles of French philosophy, exhibiting the writer in the character of a humorous satirist; the second, playful and lively in part, is at the same time replete with sound thinking and correct views.

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TO HIS SISTER.

Wamlere, 5th March, 1795.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I FIND that all my arguments in favour of ignorance and old customs have been lost upon you, and that I might as well have attempted to put out the light of Mrs. Mary Wolstonecraft, as to turn the heart of such a stubborn reformer as you are now become. All nations are now, it seems, to be one family; and we are to have no more quarrelling, no more fighting, except intellectual combats; and every man of us is to cultivate philosophy and the arts, and to talk of nothing but urbanity, and humanity, and gentleness, and delicacy, and sympathy, and love —every desert spot is to be converted into a garden, and the whole face of the earth is to swarm with the sons and daughters of reason and liberty! What then? Suppose all these fine things realized, shall we have changed for the better? Let agriculture and manufactures be carried to their utmost possible extent, where does it all end; but in our being more effeminate in our dress, and more epicurean in our food, than we are now. We must also admit, that the increase of population has kept pace with the improvements of the arts: and that the whole face of the country will be covered with habitations, except what is required for the purposes of agriculture; but this cannot be a very extensive space; for, as the earth will then be forced to yield at least an hundred fold more than at present, I reckon an area of twenty feet square a very ample allowance for each person. This is making a very great concession; for, you know that every inch of the surface of dry land might be covered with houses, and the inhabitants, by having terraced roofs, might on the top of them raise food enough for their sustenance, as was formerly done by the Babylonians in their hanging gardens; but as I wish, contrary to the practice of the learned, to be moderate in argument, I give you twenty feet square for your maintenance and recreation. What will be the consequence of this advanced state of society? We shall, like the Chinese, throw our new-born children into rivers, with as little remorse as if they were puppies. In towns where there is no river at hand, Edinburgh for instance, the cry of "Gardyloo" will probably be followed by a babe, instead of the accompaniment which Queen Mary introduced from France. Ten stories will be more certain death to the young philosophers than a plunge into the river. We shall then hear

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of more "'scapes by flood than by field," and, for want of romances and memoirs of revolutions, the adventures of these foundlings will form a principal part of our libraries. We shall not be able to walk out without being jostled on all sides by crowds of enlightened men and women. All the sports of the field, and all rural pleasures, will be at an end. There will be no rambling across the meadows; for every man will fence his territorial possessions of twenty feet against all intruders. There will be no hunting or shooting, for all wild animals will have been destroyed; and there will be no fishing, because every living thing in the rivers will have been poisoned by manufactures. There will be no poetry, no silence, no solitude; and if by chance some genius should arise and invoke the muse, he will sing more of being lulled to sleep by the clattering of fulling-mills and other machinery, than by the whispering of the zephyrs, or the sweet south, upon a bank of violets. The hard-handed peasant will then wear dog-skin gloves, silk stockings, and a solitaire, and be wrapt in silk from top to toe like a cocoon; and as the plough will then, by the power of machinery, go by itself, he will look at its motions, mounted on the horse which, in these barbarous times, would be employed in drawing it. And the rich man, dressed in the finest stuffs that art can produce, will sit in his marble palace gasping for fresh air; for amidst the steam of human bodies, and the smoke of engines and workshops, it will be impossible to get a mouthful, unless by going to sea. When the world, by the progress of knowledge, shall come to this pass, (if the art of war, after being lost for many ages, is again discovered,) it will be hailed as a noble invention, and the author of it will perhaps receive the honours of the Pantheon, for giving elbow-room to the half-stifled inhabitants of the globe, by such ingenious machinery as fire-arms, instead of its being effected by pestilence and famine: it will no doubt be considered as a learned profession, and probably be classed as one of the branches of the medical art. Now, supposing that the economists have accomplished their great plan of filling the world with farmers and manufacturers, and made the whole face of the earth one great city, it does not appear that the more important end of increasing the happiness of mankind would be attained. But there is another kind of philosophers who propose doing this by other means. They do not mind what we eat or drink, or wear; their business is all with our minds—with our contemplations. They talk a great deal about the material and mental worlds, and of their

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both being subjected by man; and of the accumulating lights of a perpetual succession of speculative men, effecting in the one case what physical agents do in the other. I cannot conceive that that part of their studies which is directed to the division of the powers of the mind into different heads of memory, reflections, &c. can ever make us wiser or better. It is only giving us a new code of metaphysical jargon, in addition to those which we have had already from the Indians, Greeks, and Arabians, and which will also, in its turn, be supplanted by something equally visionary and unimportant. Their disquisitions on government are not likely ever to do much good—for its best rules will always be drawn from experience; and whatever is good in their theories, comes from the same source, though they often absurdly enough regard it as the offspring of their own genius. I never had much faith in the soundness of their political doctrines, and still less after what has passed in France. If they could ever discover and demonstrate mathematically the origin of ideas, or sentiments, or whatever they please to call them, they might still be very ignorant of the characters of men, and, of course, very unfit for the administration of public affairs. We have never yet had any proof that the knowledge of abstract sciences makes those who cultivate them, either more able or more virtuous. I rather suspect that they have a contrary tendency. Were a convention assembled of all the most celebrated writers in metaphysics and politics, for the purpose of framing a constitution for a country that wanted one, I should not hope for any great benefit from their labours, nor be surprised to behold the tyranny of Robespierre and his associates equalled by them. The mild benevolent moralist, who had been accustomed to fortify himself against the assaults of domestic calamities by the maxims of philosophers, when brought into active scenes,—when agitated and exasperated by the strife of parties, and when his latent ambition was awakened by the prospect of power, would find all his former aids of old saws of no avail, and might be hurried on to the commission of deeds as atrocious as ever were imagined by Marat himself. —— ventures to foretel that we shall advance with accelerated rapidity, from one degree of improvement to another, till at last we shall all be as good, and as wise, and as happy, as angels. But could this prophecy be accomplished, it is not an event that ought to be wished for by Christians, because we should become attached to this vain world, and would have no motive for praying to go to a better; and pain and poverty, two

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apostles who have perhaps made as many converts as all the bishops that ever existed, would be turned out of doors.—But religion out of the question. I am much afraid, that could the Doctor's schemes be brought to bear, they would not even contribute to our worldly bliss. The human race, as I told you before, is to be one great family. All malignant passions, and with them war, are to cease—all nations are to be alike enlightened. The gentlemen of Timbuctoo are to speak French, and the ladies to warble Italian; and the tranquil pleasures of mankind are never to be ruffled, unless by the death of their cattle, or the birth of their children. To such a state of dull uniform repose, give me, a thousand times in preference, the world as it now stands, with all its beautiful variety of knowledge and ignorance,—of languages—of manners—customs—religions and superstitions—of cultivated fields and wide-extended deserts—and of war and peace.

Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cariambutti, seventeen miles north-east of Senkledroog,
15th September, 1795.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I SEE that you and my father stop all travellers from India. I sometimes hear of them from Glasgow before I know of their leaving Madras. I think I see —— looking out of his carriage window, like John Bull from Ecclesdown Castle. "Look at me now, Nick; see where I am got to." He deserves his good fortune, for he is an excellent officer. Keith Macalaster is an old acquaintance; but I know nothing of ——, except what I have from you, that he sleeps after supper in the middle of long stories. This may be occasioned either by the nature of the stories, or the punch being too weak or too strong. My father confirms your report, and observes with some surprise, that he fell asleep while he, Major Macleod, and Keith, debated about Hyder and Tippoo till two in the morning. Had they been engaged in a real, instead of a mock fight, I should not have wondered at his sleeping at such an hour. He was Adjutant to one of the battalions which served with the Nizam's army in Mysore; but as they always encamped at some distance from us, I never was in company with him, though I have frequently seen him: he is well spoken of, and, I believe, received a present of a thousand pagodas, by order of Lord Cornwallis, for a survey of the route of the detachment with which he served. As to the

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doublet which —— exhibits among you, it is none of mine; I give up all claim to it: he certainly robbed my wardrobe of many valuable articles; but this was not among them. Your conjecture about Miss —— having enslaved him, is very right. In a letter which I received from him last year, he is very anxious to know how her brother is: had I not learned his deplorable situation from you, I should have thought this inquiry a little strange; for he never troubled himself about ——'s health before. I am sorry to say, that he has been long ill, and is still in a very bad way; but I shall give him the particulars in a few days, when I write to him. I suppose his excursions about the country in the jacket you so much admire, must be a task imposed by his fair enthraller, as a trial of his constancy.

The lady whom you pretend to have discovered for me, does not, I hope, expect that I am, by night and day, to ride over the hard stones on a tall trotting horse; for should I by chance, when thinking of her instead of my Rosinante, fall off and break my neck, how doleful it would be—I mean, on my part. We should have "Love's Labour Lost;" and the story would make such a charming new ballad, that were I not a recreant knight, I ought to be impatient to see the adventure finished. But you have forgotten in your plan all the obstacles to the accomplishment of this great enterprise,—not of neck-breaking; for of that, as I have already said, I make nothing,—but of the celebration of our nuptials. I have since the morning reckoned above fifty: but there is one which is worth them all,—that the lady never was in the mind which you say; or if she was, that it is fifty to one but she would change it before I got home, were I even mounted upon an enchanted wooden steed. Now, what is to be done when I arrive, and find that she has given her hand to an unknown rival? If he were a knight, I might borrow ——'s doublet and horse, and challenge him to mortal combat; but as it is more likely that he has never been dubbed, there is nothing left for me but to choose the most romantic manner of dying. Hanging and drowning have both many advocates among lovers: for my own part, I should prefer hanging; it is more pastoral, and I think that dangling by the neck from a willow, would have a fine Arcadian appearance; besides, the branch might break, or some charitable swain might pass that way, and cut me down before I had sighed my soul away, which are chances that I could not have at the bottom of a pond. But what makes this one of the most hapless love affairs that ever distressed a forlorn

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couple is, that, besides the lady's objections, I might have not a few of my own. I have read so many romances and novels, that I have got very high notions of beauty; nothing but such a peerless dame as Rosalind, or Angelica, or Clarinda, will make me kneel. If the lady is not as fair as Melisendra, "whose eyes misled the morn," I would regard her with as much disdain as the Glassman, in the Arabian Nights, did the Grand Vizier's daughter. The fair phantoms whom I have so often seen carried off by caitiffs, and rescued by knights, hold such sovereign empire in my imagination, that there is no room for your Lady Marys and Lady Bettys, nor even for your Marias and Elizas. I have seen no woman in the course of my errantry, that I did not think vulgar in comparison of those transcendent nymphs with whom I have beguiled so many delightful days "in hall and bower." But suppose that the course of true-love should run smooth, and that we are both returning to our castle, mounted on white palfreys; here our troubles would begin, for when, after dismounting, Melisendra, instead of taking up a lute, and pouring upon my ear a strain like the sweet south, should fall to scolding the servants, the spell would vanish, and, instead of a magnificent palace near Trebizond, I would find myself in a small house in a dirty street in Glasgow. After having been so long used to a wandering life in a tent, I doubt very much if I could muster steadiness sufficient to confine myself to a house. If I could not, there follows a cruel separation—the lady in town, and I in the country;—but as living under a tree or in a tent, in such a climate, is not always pleasant, I should perhaps remove as far as Persia or India, and, by increasing the distance, increase the pangs of absence.

You see how many good reasons there are against your scheme of my taking horse instantly, and hastening to throw myself at the lady's feet: as to the other, of proxy, I can only agree to it on certain conditions. If she is not, or even if I fancy that she is not, so charming as Clelia or Rosamond, I am to be at liberty to look for one that is. I am to eat and sleep whenever I please, without any questions being asked. No private orders are to be given to the barber or the tailor about the decorations of my person. I am not to be forced to sit up, and receive male or female visitors: neither the superintendence of the kettle nor tea-cups is to be considered as a part of my duty. I am not to be obliged to deliver my opinion on patterns for caps or petticoats for any lady. I am not to go out to tea or supper, unless I choose. I am not

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to be ordered on any duties of danger, such as escorting young ladies home in a windy, or old ladies on a frosty night. I am to have liberty of conscience, and to attend church as often as I think proper. And, lastly, when I am tired of home, I may return to India *alone*. N. B. Should any doubt hereafter arise about the meaning of any of these clauses, my interpretation is to be received as infallible; and should I explain the same article different ways at different times, I am not to give any reason for so doing.—These are my terms, from none of which I can recede.

I never wish so much to be at home, as when I hear of your excursions to Saltcoats, Milliken, and Edinburgh; for I like to stroll about the country. I am happy to hear that Saltcoats has done James so much good: he has no complaints now, I imagine, that a little time will not remove. In all my letters, I have said that he ought not to return here if there is the smallest danger of his health. I have often lamented that he was so contemplative, and looked so much forward, and with an eye so gloomy. Two of his books were Hume's Essays, and Read's Theories,—books which he may now read with entertainment and without danger, but which could have done him no good when he first saw them some years before he came to this country. His sedentary, moping disposition ought rather to have been directed to bustle and action than cherished by dull studies. The cold, lifeless reasoning which is prematurely forced upon an unfortunate student at a college, is as different from the vigorous conception which is caught from mingling with general society, as an animated body from its shadow. It is distressing that we should persevere in the absurd practice of stifling the young ideas of boys of fourteen or fifteen with logic. A few pages of history give more insight into the human mind, and in a more agreeable manner, than all the metaphysical volumes that ever were published. The men who have made the greatest figure in public life, and have been most celebrated for their knowledge of mankind, probably never consulted any of these sages from Aristotle downwards.

I wish we had a statement of my father's debts, that we might know what part of the principal we could discharge without incurring any great loss, by withdrawing our money from the advantage of high interest.

TO THE SAME.

October 4th, 1795.

You begin, I imagine, by this time to suspect that by this long dissertation upon doctors, I am endeavouring to fight off

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replying to your outrageous attacks on military men; and I am not ashamed to confess that it is not far from the truth; for when I unthinkingly enough, last year, said something to you about war being almost as excellent an invention as sleep, it was only for want of something else to talk of, and I little dreamed that I should see you, in something less than seventeen years, decorating the horizon of controversy, and coming down upon me like another Mrs. Mary Wolstonecraft, with a host of first principles, and physical and moral causes, and defying *me* to mortal combat, in which *you* propose to gather laurels. Then you talk of Olives, and Myrtles, and Oaks, at such a rate that I began to doubt if I was not reading a letter from the famous Kensington Gardener, who renovates old fruit-trees; and after dragging me into this wilderness, you talk of things invisible, and divine, emanating and reascending sparks, and internal warfare, and you conclude this discourse on politics, morals, astronomy, and forest-trees, by praying that we may all at last become planets. This is all much too sublime for my poor spark of intelligence, particularly as I have not got the metaphysical visual ray; I must, therefore, leave you, and return to earth again, and speak of things as we see them, and talk of men as we find them. I am still of opinion that war produces many good consequences: those philosophers who prophesy that the millennium is to follow universal civilization, must have shut their eyes on what is passing in the world, and trusted entirely to intellectual light, otherwise they would have seen that in proportion to the progress of science and the arts, war becomes more frequent and more general, and this I consider to be the true end of civilization. In former ages of barbarity and ignorance, two petty states might have fought till they were tired, without any of their neighbours minding them, and perhaps without those who were at a little distance ever hearing any thing of the matter; but in these enlightened times of mail-coaches and packet-boats, no hostility can be committed in one corner of Europe, but it is immediately known in the other, and we all think it necessary to fall-to immediately. I should be glad to know in what uncivilized age a fray in Nootka Sound would have produced a bustle at Portsmouth. Barbarous nations, when at war, generally returned to their homes at the harvest season, and took the field again in the holidays, to fight by way of pastime, and they were not afraid to leave their towns with no other guard than their women, because no other nation was supposed to be concerned in their quarrel;

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but now, by the happy modern discovery of the balance of power, all Europe is fraternized—every nation takes at least as much interest in the affairs of other nations as in its own, and no two can go to war without all the rest following their example. We are not like barbarians, contented with one or two campaigns, the riches of commerce and the improvement of science enable us to amuse ourselves much longer, and we are now seldom contented with less than seven. Why do our men of genius speculate, and our manufacturers toil unceasingly, but that we may collect money enough to treat ourselves now and then to a seven years' jubilee of warfare. The only instance in which civilized is less destructive than barbarous war is, in not eating our prisoners; but this I do not yet despair of seeing accomplished, for whenever any philosopher, or politician, shall demonstrate that eating prisoners will improve the cotton manufacture, or augment the revenue, an Act of Parliament will soon be passed for dispatching them as fast as possible. War is to nations what municipal government is to particular cities, it is a grand Police which teaches nations to respect each other, and humbles such as have become insolent by prosperity. If you are not satisfied with political arguments, I shall give you some of a higher nature. Do not all religious and orthodox books insist strongly on the manifold benefits resulting from the chastisements and visitations of stiff-necked and stubborn generations? Now what better visitation can you wish for, than forty or fifty thousand men going into a strange land and living there at free quarters for two or three years. Don't you think that the calamities of the American war have made us more virtuous than we were, and that more Britons have gone to heaven since these chastisements, than did in all the preceding part of the century? and I, therefore, for my own sake, thank Providence that such a visitation happened in my life. It is in vain to look for the termination of war from the diffusion of light, as it is called. The Greeks and Romans in ancient times were, and the Germans, French, and English in modern times are, the most enlightened and warlike of nations; and the case will be the same till the end of the world, or till human nature ceases to be what it is. As long as nations have different governments, and manners, and languages, there will be war, and if commerce should ever so far extend its influence as that trading nations will no longer fight for territory—they will never refuse to take up arms for cloth—and then the age of chivalry having given place to that of econo-

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mists, prisoners will no more be released on parole; the privates and subs. will be employed in coal-heaving and other works serviceable to the state, and those of superior rank ransomed, and if they are dilatory in settling accounts, they will, perhaps, be tossed in blankets of a particular manufacture, to promote the circulation of cash. Those who rail against war have not taken a comprehensive view of the subject, nor considered that it mingles, in a greater or lesser degree, with the most refined of our pleasures. How insipid would poetry be without romances and heroic poems, and history without convulsions and revolutions! What would a library be with nothing but Shenstone and a few volumes of sermons? What would become of all those patriotic citizens who spend half their lives in coffee-houses talking of the British Lion, if he were to be laid asleep by an unfortunate millennium?

I am so far from wishing to abolish hereditary distinctions, that I think them useful when kept within proper bounds. I speak of them rather in a moral than a political view. Nobility of birth, if it does not always give elevation of sentiment, often prevents a man from descending to actions which he would hardly have started at had he been born in an inferior sphere; the fear of disgracing his family keeps him above them; but this is only a negative kind of merit. When, however, nobility is joined to an excellent natural disposition, cultivated by education, it gives the possessor a dignity of thinking and acting rarely found in the middling ranks of life; of these there are many instances among the Spaniards. Alexander was in high spirits on the 8th of August, the date of his last letter.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

The following letter to his mother, written a few months previously, gives an animated description both of his own mode of life and of some of the peculiarities and customs of the people over whom he presided.

Bellari, 17th May, 1795.

DEAR MADAM,

IN the course of the last three months I have written to my father, Erskine, and Alexander. I should write to you all oftener, were I not so much out of the world that I hear very little of public affairs; and were my manner of life not so uni-

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form, that it is dull and uninteresting even to myself. I often wish that some of those dreamers, who prate so much about the pleasures of retirement, were in my place; for, to me, life without society is a heavy task. I long for company, not merely for the sake of conversation, but also to amuse myself with being idle. For I would rather play fives or billiards, or make a party to go up a hill or to swim, than read the finest composition of human genius, or pass a classical night with the whole of the Royal Society in full college. I however still like reading, and the company of those whom I suppose to be either men of taste or knowledge, as much as ever; but without recreations of a lighter kind, I should soon lose all relish for both. Were I by chance thrown into a situation where it would be necessary to relinquish either sport or study, I should without hesitation give up study. It is impossible to express the strong passion which I still retain, or which has rather continued to grow upon me, for fives, swimming, and every sport that I was fond of at school. I remember I left Cassimcottah about eight years ago, on account of the danger of hill fevers: but a stronger reason was, that I could not live without playing fives. Were I to go home to-morrow, instead of going about like a good citizen, and visiting the various improvements in the manufactures of my native town, one of my first excursions would be to Woodside, to swim down Jackson's mill-stream; and as this would certainly be represented as an action very indecorous in a person of my years, and as savouring of an empty mind, I would excuse myself by saying that I had only followed the advice of Lord Bacon: for as I knew the deepening and widening of canals to be matters of the utmost importance to a commercial nation, I had resolved, in conformity to the principles of that philosopher, to admit nothing on hear-say, however high the authority, but to bring every thing to the test of experiment; and that, with this patriotic view, I had risked my person in a dangerous torrent.

Where I am now, I have no choice of study, or society, or amusement. I go from village to village, with my tent, settling the rents of the inhabitants; and this is so tedious and teazing a business, that it leaves room for nothing else,—for I have no hour in the day that I can call my own. At this moment, while I am writing, there are a dozen of people talking around me: it is now twelve o'clock, and they have been coming and going in parties ever since seven in the morning, when I began this letter. They have frequently interrupted me for an hour at a time. One

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man has a long story of a debt of thirty years' standing, contracted by his father; another tells me that his brother made away with his property when he was absent during the war; and a third tells me that he cannot afford to pay his usual rent, because his wife is dead, who used to do more work than his best bullock. I am obliged to listen to all these relations; and as every man has a knack at description, like Sancho, I think myself fortunate when I get through any one of them in half an hour. It is in vain that I sometimes recommend to them to begin at the end of the story. They persist in their own way of making me full master of all the particulars; and I must, after making my objections and hearing their replies, dictate answers in the same copious style to them all, so that I cannot be sure that this letter will be ready to go by the next ships. I am now in the middle of a deep valley, about eight miles from the Cavery, and twenty south of Pinagur, surrounded on every side by woody hills, not covered with forests, but with trees of stunted growth, brushwood, and such a thicket of thorns, as render them almost every where inaccessible: and as they are like most of the hills in this country, composed either of one vast mass of bare granite, or of large stones and fragments heaped together, it is often impossible to scramble up, even where there are no other obstacles in the way. There is not a tree on the plain, except here and there a tamarind in the inclosures behind a farmer's hut: but this scarcity is owing to neglect in not planting others in the room of those cut down, not to barrenness; for every inch where the plough could go is cultivated; and even many spots among the rocks are turned up by the hand. My tent is on the brink of a mountain stream, which winds through this dismal valley; for dismal it appears at present, because it is the beginning of the spring, and the whole plain is ploughed up, and looks like a waste of red sand without a green thing. At the extremity rise the woody hills which bound it; and beyond them the lofty chain of mountains between Caveripooram and Seringapatam; but though only fifteen miles distant, the haze produced by the excessive heat is so great, that they are hardly visible; and yet in clear weather I have often seen them above eighty miles off. The great heats are almost over; for the land-winds, which moderate them greatly, are now begun. In a few days they will blow with great violence, and will continue at the same rate, almost without intermission, till October. The months of June, July, and August, with the exception of a few clear days, will be cooler than in Britain: for

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during this time the sky will be almost continually overcast, and the sun often invisible for many days. When I speak of heat, I don't mean the thermometer, for it will in general keep between 80 and 85; but the effect produced on the human body, which, from the constant high winds, frequently accompanied with drizzling rain, feels this degree of heat much less than you do one much lower at home. The middle of summer, on this account, however strange it may seem, is cooler than the middle of winter.

Mullegoord, 17th.—I could get no farther with this letter yesterday. I came here this morning, about five miles to the north-west of the place I have just left. Yesterday was the hottest day we have had this year; but there is a great change since. It began to thunder at two o'clock this afternoon, and about four it looked so threatening, that I went out to enjoy the coming storm. I mounted an old high cavalier, the only remaining part of a mud fort, which once covered this village; the view was wild and magnificent; it was a vast assemblage of hills; for from the spot where I stood not a valley was visible, except the small one which I had come through in the morning; the dust of the fresh ploughed fields was every where flying up in whirlwinds; and the dark clouds were descending from the distant mountains upon the low woody hills near me. I continued admiring this scene above an hour, when I was driven from my station by the rain, which poured down in a torrent, and was followed by a tempest of hail, the second I have seen in this country. The stones were perfectly smooth and round, and about the size of small pistol-balls. I swallowed a great number of them, to the memory of former days, while I was hastening to my tent to get dry clothes; but my reception there was not so comfortable as it would have been at home: for the convenience of being near a well, it had been pitched in the dry bed of a swamp, which was now almost knee-deep. After two hours' work in cutting trenches to carry off the water, and in throwing baskets of sand on the floor of the tent to make it firm, I have at last got a spot to bear my table and chair; and am at last, after having weathered the storm, engaged in giving you an account of it. I have this moment had a visit from an old man, the accountant of the village: he was drawn here by curiosity, for he could not conceive what use I meant to make of the baskets of sand he saw passing; he told me there was an excellent clean hut in the village, proof against all rain. I answered, that after having been almost

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washed away, there was no occasion to go any farther in search of cleanliness. He said there would be a great deal more rain in the course of the night, and that I should certainly be drowned if I did not take his advice. This remark gave me an opportunity of showing my knowledge in natural philosophy: I informed him, that even if the rain should again demolish my floor, I would get into my couch and set it at defiance; for that, in our elevated situation, it could not possibly reach me, till every soul in the Carnatic was drowned; that I did not care how much water came down the hills, I should never be alarmed, till I saw it coming up; when that happened, I should begin to have some serious thoughts of drowning. He is gone home, fully convinced that I am drunk. He saw me drinking tea, which he supposed to be some strong spirits to counteract the cold.

Sholapaddi, 22d May.—I am now on the bank of the Cavery, about a mile below Caveripooram. The river is about four hundred yards broad here, and is beginning to fill. In a month more it will be even with its banks, which are about twenty feet high. You perhaps figure me to yourself in the middle of a rich country, walking on the side of a beautiful stream: but every thing here is wild and savage; the valley, which is about two miles broad between the river and the hills, does not produce a blade of grass. During the wet weather, by the force of labour, it is covered with a poor kind of grain; but the rest of the year it is nothing but a heap of stones mixed with thorns; it is hardly possible to walk along the side of the river, as the ground is every where cut by prodigious deep ravines, full of bushes. I was above an hour yesterday in walking a mile, and half the time at least was spent in crossing them; because, after descending, I was often obliged to go a considerable way along the bottom before I could find a place to scramble up. In returning I attempted to come along the bed of the river; but this way was not pleasanter than the other way, wading through deep sand, or stumbling over blue rocks rising abruptly from it. The only agreeable part of my journey was in sitting down upon one of them, and looking at the different kinds of water-fowl catching fish. While I rested here, the burning heat of the sun was rendered still more oppressive by the reflection from the sand and water; and I do not know whether the patience of the fishing-birds in watching for their prey, or mine in looking at them, was greatest. I once thought of varying the scene, and going home by water: this might have been the shortest way, and would

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certainly have been the coolest; but I felt some kind of repugnance to swimming among alligators; for though here, as in many other parts of the country, they are not mischievous, and there is no instance of their ever having carried off any of the natives, who are perpetually bathing, I reflected that it would be no consolation to me to have it remarked by the old people of the village, that they never remembered to have seen any person taken down by them till this blessed day. I also recollected two or three instances of accidents having happened where these animals were said to be perfectly harmless; these arguments were quite sufficient to deter me from attempting the passage by water. I have not yet taken the trouble to ascertain whether my conduct on this occasion was the result of self-love, or of that wisdom which Dr. Zimmerman, one of the most absurd coxcombs I ever met with, says is produced by seclusion from the world. If solitude is the mother of wisdom, it is to be hoped that, in a few years more, I shall be as wise as Solomon or Robinson Crusoe. There is another thing in favour of this idea,—the simplicity of my fare, which, according to some philosophers, is a great friend to genius and digestion. I do not know if the case is altered by this diet being the effect of necessity and not of choice. When my cook brings me a sheep, it is generally so lean that it is no easy matter to cut it. Fowls are still worse, unless fed with particular care,—a science for which I have no turn; and as to river-fish, very few of them are eatable. If the fish and fowl were both boiled, it would puzzle any naturalist to tell the one from the other merely by the taste. Some sects of philosophers recommend nuts and apples, and other sorts of fruit; but nothing is to be found either in the woods or gardens here, except a few limes, and a coarse kind of plantain, which is never eaten without the help of cookery. I have dined to-day on porridge made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters. Some other philosophers think that gentle exercise, as a branch of temperance, has also a share in illuminating the understanding. I am very fond of riding in an evening shower after a hot day; but I do not rest much upon this; my great dependence, for the expansion of my genius, is upon the porridge.

Chittore, 18th June.—I remained only a few days in the Caveripooram district, after writing the last part of this letter: my tent was blown away one afternoon by a hurricane of dust, such as those that Mr. Bruce met with in the Desert. I thought

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at first, from the darkness, that it was rain; but when it came within a few miles, I soon guessed, from the red colour of the cloud, what it was,—for I had before seen one, though not half so violent, at Bangalore. It lasted about half an hour; and, as I was in the middle of it all the time bareheaded, I caught a cold, which, together with the King's birth-day, carried me to Senkledroog. I stayed there a week, as the doctor told me, to recover my health; but it was, in reality, neither him nor health, but the Swallow packet, that detained me. I wished to be in society when she arrived, that I might have a debate upon the intelligence she was expected to bring out, both respecting European politics and the regulations of the Indian army; but hearing nothing of her, I took the field again, and, after several movements, I am now on a beautiful spot, twelve miles north of Senkledroog, and four from the Cavery. On all sides are groves of Palmyra trees, and the country is every where green with the rising grain; the only uncultivated ground is a small space in front of the village on which my tent stands. The weather is now pleasanter than in England; the wind is high, and the sky so cloudy, that the sun has scarcely been visible since the beginning of the month. I walked out this afternoon at three o'clock, which is usually as hot as any hour in the day, and did not return till near seven, when it began to grow dark. I made a circuit of about ten miles, without once thinking of heat. At this season of the year, I take so much pleasure in these rambles, that I find it difficult to confine myself to my tent. They are not so solitary as I could wish; for I often fall in with story-tellers, who keep me company all the way. The farmers of this country are, I believe, the most talkative race on the face of the earth. A party of them met me this evening with a complaint against some unknown conjurer, who had set fire to their village twice in the course of the year. I told them I had a great antipathy to all conjurers, and would give them satisfaction on their producing him. They said they had concerted a plan for discovering him, but that it could not be executed without my assistance. I was to take my station at a little distance from the village, with a spying-glass in my hand; all the inhabitants were to pass in review before me; when I could not fail, by means of the virtues of the glass, to discover the felon who had done so much mischief. I answered that it was an excellent thought, but that the trial must be deferred till I should get a new glass, as my old one was

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broken; and as we should then certainly catch the conjurer, I asked what punishment it would be proper to inflict upon him. They said, no other than drawing two of his teeth, with which he would lose all his magic powers. I replied, that this could not be done till he was taken; but that, in the mean time, there was another remedy, equally simple, at hand, to defend themselves from him in future: any person who had any suspicion of his having evil designs upon himself, had only to get two of his own teeth drawn, which would secure both himself and his property against all the art of the enemy. I said I had some years ago parted with two of my own teeth; and offered, if they would accompany me back, to get them all made magic-proof at the same cheap rate. They asked leave to go home and consult about my proposal, and promised to give me their answer in the morning; but I suspect that I shall hear no more of the matter. Among the natives of this country, the belief in all kinds of witchcraft, goblins, and elf-shooting, is universal among all ranks. They frequently take the conjurer by surprise, and draw his teeth themselves without applying to justice. The cattle of the farmers seldom die a natural death. If any accident happens in any of their families when they begin to plough a field; if a snake runs across the path, or if they see a land-crab, they abandon it, and say that it is in possession of the devil:—it lies waste for several years; and if then some bold fellow ventures to break it up, and loses neither his life nor his bullocks, it is supposed that the devil has, for the present, relinquished his claim. I once had a complaint from a man, of a conjurer's having killed his wife and mother, and about twenty cows and bullocks. I thought, at first, that some of the characters in the Arabian Nights had again started up; but on farther inquiry, I found that he had taken fourteen years to effect all this: and I thought it possible that, within this period, time alone, without any foreign aid, might have dispatched a couple of women and a few cattle.

I add to this a letter addressed to one of his brothers, not only because of its extreme beauty, but on account of its striking illustration of that affection for early scenes and early friends, which formed so prominent a feature in the writer's character.

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Senkledroog, 25th January, 1796.

DEAR JAMES,

I HAVE received your letters of June and September, 1794, and May, 1795. I cannot read your account of your ramble among our old haunts, without wishing myself along with you. I understand all the alterations you mention as well as if I saw them; but I have too much veneration for every thing about the place, to relish any changes:—I neither like the stone wall, nor the making the entrance from the hollow part of the road where the burn runs, instead of letting it go through the avenue as formerly. I hope the mill-lade is still full of mud; that the short road through the garden still remains; that the raspberries opposite to the dam still thrive for the benefit of wandering boys; and that no flood has carried away the large stone in the deep water opposite to the bathing-house, from which we used to plunge. Often have I sat upon it, and encouraged you, in vain, to come in. Alexander and William were not afraid of the water, and soon learned to swim; but I could never prevail on you to come above the dam; you always amused yourself among the stones in the shallow water below, where it was hardly deep enough for the minnows to play. This spot, next to our own family, if any thing ever draws me home, will do it. I have no friendships nor employment that should induce me to return. I had no companions in the grammar-school with whom I associated after leaving it, except John Brown's sons and my brothers: and they are now dispersed in all parts of the world. By spending so much of my time in the house, I was more among Erskine's acquaintances than any of my own, and I would much rather see them than any of my schoolfellows.

My attachment to India has been much weakened since you left it, by the loss of many valuable friends. You already know of James Irving; but Dods, the oldest and dearest of them all, is now gone; he was my tent-mate in 80 at Conjeveram, and from that time till the day of his death, my affection for him grew stronger and stronger; he was carried off, in the course of a week, by a hill fever, which he caught at Gingee, where he had gone with another officer for the sake of solitary excursions, of which he was so fond, and of visiting the stupendous rocks and ruins about that place. No year ever passed that he did not contrive to spend several weeks with me. He was going to see some friends at Trichinopoly, and from thence had promised to

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come through the Baramahl on his way to Arnee. I wrote to him, that I had a tent ready for him; but my letter came back under a cover, informing me of his death. You fancy to yourself Foulis and he and I meeting at Derampoory: such a meeting I once flattered myself with seeing; but it is all over now, and the world has nothing which can ever give me so much pleasure as it would have done; but I am afraid I shall soon have to lament the loss of another friend. Foulis is so ill that there is hardly any chance of his recovery; if he dies, I shall have seen the end of almost the only three men with whom I have ever been intimate. Taylor is the only exception; and his constitution is so much impaired, that he will be obliged to go to Europe. I am now too old to form new friendships; and I foresee that I must go through life like a stranger among people, some of whom I esteem, but for none of whom I have any particular partiality. Daniel's marriage inclines me to believe that I am still a young man; but when I see all my friends dropping off, I feel that I have survived all the pleasures of youth, and that I have only those of age to look to—the recollection of what is past. In all my letters, I have constantly approved of your plan of sacrificing every prospect to the recovery of health, and I hope you will persevere in this resolution; but I am afraid that your studies will be a great obstacle to success in this point, because they confine you too much, and give you too little exercise. I have often been attacked at Kisnagerry about your indolence, and have always defended you on the plea of bad health; and the state I saw you in would certainly have made any man listless, and incapable of exertion. I have often, for a simple headache, sat without moving or speaking for a whole day. Smith, who came out in the ship with you, tells me that you were very lazy, and that you shammed illness, and spent all your time reading books in the jolly-boat, with a Scotchman called Marshall: according to Smith's ideas reading books is a very idle kind of employment; and I am so far of his opinion, that I think it would have been better, had you in your earlier days spent less of time in school or college, and more with boys in the streets,—it might probably have saved you from the sickness, occasioned, I suppose, by too much confinement, which threw you into the hands of quacks. Daniel has settled fifty pounds a-year upon you. I shall remit you a like sum in a month or two, and, with the help of what Alexander can spare, I hope you will be able to manage till you get into some kind of business; but you must keep up

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your spirits, and be cheerful, and full of exertion whenever health permits—there is no doing without these qualities. I have seen you, with all the dignity of a philosopher, speak contemptuously of the understandings, the pursuits, and engagements of your neighbours; but nothing is more unphilosophical, and, what is of more consequence, more imprudent, than to show a slight to any person, however humble his capacity: there is hardly any man who ever forgives it: and true philosophy consists, not so much in despising the talents or wealth of other men, as in bearing our own fortune, whatever it may be, with an unaltered mind. I am preaching to you about an error that I often fall into myself; but never without repenting it.

Your affectionate brother,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*On the general state of the Country and the Army.*]

Senkledroog, 18th April, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

It is now near a twelvemonth since the date of my last letter from home; but I have heard of you later than this from Lieutenant Malcolm, the General's secretary, who tells me that you were one of the last persons he saw at home, and that he had a long talk with you about Tippoo. Captain Read is still occupied in surveying and leasing this country; it will require another year to finish; so that we shall hold our civil employments till July 1797. After that, it is likely enough that we may be sent to the right about; though it would certainly be wiser to let him remain for a year or two longer, to try whether or not the plan which he has adopted will stand the test of experiment. I have been here about six weeks. I go away in a few days, and shall hardly be twice in the company of Europeans before Christmas. You can therefore expect no news from me, for I hear nothing but vague reports; and any information that I could send you would neither be so correct nor so full as the public papers. There is no appearance, at present, of the country powers giving us any trouble. Tippoo is employed in reducing some refractory poligars, and is too weak to molest any of his neighbours. The Nizam is in the same situation; and the Mahrattas are disputing about the succession to the Peishwaship. All the Dutch posts in Ceylon are now in our possession. An expe-

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dition has been talked of against Batavia; but I think it is doubtful that it will be attempted; for it is not worth the number of men that must fall victims to its climate; and if Holland is ever again to recover her independence, of which we have some hopes from the last advices, it is not worth while to plunder and distress her without benefitting ourselves. In a political point of view, all our Eastern conquests are not of half the value that the Mauritius would have been; for, as long as the French have it and Pondicherry, they will always be able to make an impression on the Carnatic, and, if supported by Tippoo, to distress us as much as we were in 1780.

* * * * * *

We are now looking out a little impatiently for the army arrangements. Some copies have arrived in the country of those which are said to have passed the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; but they follow too closely the plan of Lord Cornwallis to give general satisfaction. Eighteen thousand sepoys will never be found sufficient for the services of the coast; and eighteen hundred men is too great a number for a regiment. Corps of this strength might answer well enough in an open country, where the troops are kept together in large cantonments; but they are very ill-calculated for a country with an extensive frontier, covered with forts, like the Carnatic; because, in order to garrison them, almost every battalion must be broken into detachments, which will ruin their discipline. We have now thirty-six battalions of sepoys, which, with one hundred and sixty additional men to each, makes our present establishment between seven and eight thousand firelocks above the arrangements. If Ceylon is reduced, we shall probably discharge a part of the additional men; but we shall, I am convinced, after every possible reduction, be five thousand above it, and it would, in the end, prove more economical to have this extra number, or even eight thousand, than to limit ourselves to that proposed by Lord Cornwallis; for his establishment will oblige us, on the breaking out of a war, to confine our operations to the countries below the Ghauts till reinforcements arrive from Bengal, while the other would enable us to march at once to Seringapatam. The loss of a single campaign would be attended with more expense than would counterbalance all the savings that could arise from the difference of the two establishments in time of peace; and the stronger would have another advantage over the weaker, that it would secure us longer in the enjoyment of

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peace, because an enemy would be more cautious in attacking us when he saw us in a situation to receive him. Had Lord Cornwallis been left to combat Tippoo without any assistance from the Mahrattas, I suspect that he would have given a very different plan from that which he has now brought forward. The best article in the whole of it is, that of giving leave to retire on full pay after twenty-five years' service. Your affectionate son,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*Relative to the state of the Country and the People.*]

Wamlere, 10th May, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

THE average rent of cultivated land in this country is not more than three shilling an acre. Waste lands pay nothing. The inhabitants graze their cattle and cut wood upon them, without being subject to any demand: laying down fields in clover, and different kinds of grass, is unknown in this country, where all the pasture is spontaneous. The average rent of the whole body of farmers is not more than ten pagodas each. I am pretty sure that there is not a man among them who is worth 500*l*, and that, exclusive of their cattle, nine-tenths of them have not five pounds. This extreme poverty is the principal cause of the lowness of the rents, and not any fault of the soil; for at least three-fourths of the lands in cultivation are capable of producing cotton, sugar, and indigo; but though the rayets have little money, I imagine that they suffer less real distress than the peasantry of Europe. The inclemency of the weather is what they hardly ever feel: firewood costs them nothing, and dress very little. Their own labour, for two or three days, is the price of their house, which is built of mud and covered with straw or leaves, and, in a warm climate, such materials answer the purpose just as well as stone or marble. All of them are married, and their families, so far from being a burden, are a great support to them, because their labour produces more than the expense of their maintenance:—this is so generally understood, that nothing is more common than to grant a man a remission of rent on the death of his wife or his son. Learned men who write of India, begin by talking of the sun, and then tell us that its vertical rays make the natives indolent; but, notwithstanding all this, the farmers are, at least, as industrious as those of Europe, and their women more so. They owe their poverty to their government,

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and neither to their idleness nor the sun. There is a great variety of castes among them; the degrees of industry are different in them all; and in fixing rents, it is as necessary to attend to this circumstance as to the quality of the land. Bramins may perform all the labours of agriculture, except that of holding the plough. On this account, and because their women do not work in the fields, they seldom pay more than half the usual rent. It is fixed in the Carnatic at three quarters; but this I suspect is always by a partial valuation among the rayets. The women of some castes go through every labour the same as the men; those of others cannot hold the plough; and those of others, again, are prohibited from every kind of work in the fields; but it is fortunate that the caste of which both the men and the women are the most industrious, is by far the most numerous of all. In this caste the women manage every thing, and the men hardly ever venture to disobey their orders. It is they who buy, and sell, and lend, and borrow; and though the man comes to the cutcherry to have his rent settled, he always receives his instructions before leaving home. If he gives up any point of them, however trifling, he is sure to incur her resentment. She orders him to stay at home next day, and she sallies forth herself in great indignation, denouncing the whole tribe of revenue servants. On her arrival at the cutcherry, she goes on for near an hour with a very animated speech, which she had probably begun some hours before, at the time of her leaving her own house,—the substance of it is, that they are a set of rascals for imposing upon her poor simple husband. She usually concludes with a string of interrogations. "Do you think that I can plough land without bullocks?—that I can make gold? or that I can raise it by selling this cloth?" She points, as she says this, to the dirty rag with which she is half covered, which she had put on for the occasion, and which no man would choose to touch with the end of a stick. If she gets what she asks, she goes away in a good humour; but if not, she delivers another philippic, not in a small female voice, but in that of a boatswain, —for by long practice she is louder and hoarser than a man. As the cutcherry people only laugh at her, she carries her eloquence where she knows she can make it be attended to. She returns to her unfortunate husband, and probably does not confine herself entirely to logical arguments. She is perhaps too full of cares and anxieties to sleep that night; and if any person passes her house about daybreak, or a little before, he will

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certainly find her busy spinning cotton. If I have not seen, I have at least often heard, the women spinning early in the morning, when it was so dark that I could scarcely follow the road. It is the farmer's women who make most of the thread used in all the cotton manufactures of India. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

The death of Mr. Foulis, to whom Captain Munro was sincerely attached, occurred about this time, and drew from him the following beautiful letter to his brother.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Wamlere, 23rd May, 1796.

Dear James,

I left Senkeldroog on the 6th, and have been alone ever since, except one day that I was with Read at Salem. I shall hardly be twice in the company of Europeans again before Christmas. I am now on my way to the Cavery, and I shall pass the King's birthday on the banks of it, among the hills, about four miles below the spot where you may remember that we went one day to swim. That place always brings my valuable friend Irving to my mind; but I have just lost a friend to whom I was still more strongly attached than to him. Foulis died at Major Brown's, near Madras, on the 17th. This event he had long earnestly wished for himself; for, with the exception of a few short intervals of ease, the last seven years of his life was a period of great pain and constant suffering, and often of agony. No man in the service was ever so generally lamented. Now that he and Dods are both gone, I feel myself indifferent, both with regard to this country and home, for the loss of them leaves a blank which I can never hope to fill up,—for it is impossible that I can ever be again with any other men as I have been with them. Life is now too far advanced to commence such friendships as subsisted between us; for, to make friendships cordial and unreserved, men must not only have something of the same tempers, inclinations, and ways of thinking, but they must have passed many of their earlier years together, in the same scenes of pleasure or distress. You must not judge of Foulis from what he was when you saw him—disease and unremitting torment had totally altered both his looks and his mind; even when you saw him somewhat better at home, none of the bad symptoms of his

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disorder had been removed, and he was himself convinced that there was not the smallest chance of his recovery. I don't know if ever you met with Dods, except one day that I carried you to his tattered tent at Seringapatam; but even from the short acquaintance that you had with both of them, I make no doubt but that you found yourself more at your ease, and were received with a heartier welcome, than you often are by friends of longer standing at home.

I am very glad to hear that you have resolution enough to prefer your health to every other consideration. Were your constitution perfectly sound, you would certainly do well to accept of Daniel's invitation; but while you have any remains of the bowel complaint, it would be great folly to make dangerous experiments on yourself, to gratify either your own vanity or that of your friends. I would rather see you in good health, the poorest doctor in Scotland, than the richest in Bengal, and suffering what you did at Kisnagerry.

The arrangements are arrived. I shall send my father a list of the army, after they are carried into effect.

Your affectionate brother,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Curtore, fifteen miles east of Derampoory,
24th September.

DEAR JAMES,

* * * * I wish I had been at ——'s marriage with the party of ——, which you thought so dull. You doctors are too nice about your company. Where do you think the world is to find men of wit, and learning, and genius, to place rank and file round every table? I am perfectly satisfied with reading in a book that there are such men in the present age, without expecting that I am to have one on each side of me, whenever I sit down to eat a beef-steak. Thank God! I sometimes devoutly say, I am contented with my lot, and can make shift to swallow my dinner, and supper too, even though it should not be seasoned with the conversation of a Hedrick. I consider that man was not made for me to mend; and I therefore endeavour to take my company with a good appetite, without fretting myself about their being fish or fowl. I cannot deny but that I have often, when in a bad humour, or low spirits, shifted the blame from myself to my friends, and given them a hearty curse for not

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affording me more entertainment, which they were perhaps, at the very same moment, retorting inwardly, and likely enough, with as much justice, for Providence has wisely ordained, that taste should be in conversation, as it is in every thing else, various and capricious,—for it would occasion almost as much inconvenience in society if all of us were to debate eternally on the same topics, as if we were all to fall in love with the same woman. The drift of all these profound remarks is merely to show, that though —— and his party might not have settled the point, whether Vortigern was a sprite of Shakspeare's or a bantling of Mr. Ireland's; or whether Mr. Burke or his answerers had the best of the argument; they might have discussed other subjects, which might have required as much judgment, though of a different kind. I would not choose to give my days and nights to retailers of family anecdotes; but I like to sit down sometimes in the midst of a gossiping circle, and hear one tell how his grandmother could thread a needle, without spectacles, at fourscore, and another, how his grand-aunt, by the father's side, could read a small printed Bible at ninety. These, in the pride of your philosophy, you may despise as trifling matters; but I should be very glad when I am reading my Bible at ninety, as God willing I shall, to see you threading your needle at eighty without spectacles. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

25th.—P. S. We are now obliged to arm to prevent Tippoo from attacking some of our Mahratta friends. This was to be expected from our absurdity in leaving him so strong at the end of the last war. I am afraid that our preparations may keep him quiet. Without another war, I may not be a captain these ten years. There are now about seventy above me. The only steps I have got this last year are by two men whom I would not have given for all they have left behind them—Dods and Foulis. Taylor, the last of my intimate friends, died at Amboyna in April. I esteemed him no less than the other two, for the many inestimable qualities that he possessed. There was something peculiarly manly, and, at the same time, amiable in his disposition; and this joined to his having attached himself to me in 81, when he was a boy of fifteen, has made me feel his death, if possible, more than that of the other two.

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TO HIS FATHER.

Tirtamulla, 35 miles east of Darrampoory,
September 30, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

You will have seen by the papers that the Mahratta Peshwah died last year, and that after many intrigues about a successor, the eldest son of Rayobah was at last proclaimed. Scindiah and Purseram Rhow, however, soon after confined him, and placed his younger brother in his room. Nanah Furnovese, who has so long ruled the empire, wishes to set aside both brothers, and to bring forward a child, a real or pretended adoption of the late Peshwah. It seems to be merely a struggle between him and Scindiah, who shall direct the government. He has formed a strong party, and I suppose it will depend on circumstances whether he will support this child or the deposed Peshwah; he is to be joined by the Nagpore family, and there is little doubt that Tippoo has engaged to espouse the same cause. It is said that the Nizam is also inclined to support this party; but as his minister, who is a man of strong understanding, has lately been released by the Mahrattas, it is likely that, on his arrival at Hyderabad, he will detach him from this ill-judged connection. To save the Rhow and Scindia from being crushed by this formidable confederacy, but more particularly to prevent the aggrandisement of Tippoo, we are now arming and endeavouring to form a camp by drawing together the fragments of battalions scattered between Ceylon and Amboyna. What is now going forward was to be expected. It was foreseen by every man who has reflected much on Indian politics, and is only the natural consequence of our leaving Tippoo so strong at the close of the late war. If he enters into the contest, it is certainly a good ground for our taking the field, but if he does not, I can see no reason, if we are not already bound by treaty, for our having any thing to do with it; for to us it is not of the smallest importance which of the Mahratta chiefs prevail. By applying European maxims to India, we have formed the chimerical project of maintaining the balance of power, by joining sometimes one party of Mahrattas and sometimes another, but chiefly by supporting Tippoo and the Nizam as a barrier between ourselves and their whole nation. We take it for granted, that if this fence were once removed, they would instantly break in upon us, overrun the whole country, and drive us into the sea. I am so far of

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a different opinion, that I am convinced that the annihilation of both these powers would rather strengthen than weaken the security of our possessions. Experience has shown, that augmentation of territory does not augment the force of the Mahrattas; it only serves to render the different chiefs more independent of the Poonah Government, and to lessen the union of the confederacy. With more territory, they are not half so formidable as they were fifty years ago; but Tippoo is, what none of them are, complete master of his army and of his country. Every additional acre of land and rupee of revenue increases his force in the same manner as among European nations. He introduces modern tactics and all the improvements of musketry and artillery into his army. He is always ready for war, and can begin it, without consulting a superior government or a confederate chief, whenever he sees a conjuncture favourable to his designs. He was certainly in 1789 more than a match for the whole of the Mahratta states, and even now, they would probably be cautious in attacking him, though he could not bring into the field above eight or ten thousand horse, and twenty-five or thirty thousand infantry. The Nizam has not followed the same plans, but an abler successor may. The present minister has evidently begun them by attempting, in several instances, to reduce the great Jageerdars, or feudal vassals. Mussulmans, from the spirit of conquest mixed with their religion, are much more disposed than Hindoos to spread among their armies all the advantages of foreign discoveries. Whenever the Nizam adopts them, he will become the most powerful prince in India, for he has now in his dominions great numbers of excellent horse and brave men, who want nothing but discipline. He and Tippoo, with regular armies, would be far more dangerous neighbours than the Mahrattas. Their system would be conquest—that of the Mahrattas only plunder. Ours ought therefore to be to let the Mahrattas strip the Nizam of as much of his dominions as they please, and to join them on the first favourable occasion to reduce Tippoo entirely. When this was effected, it may be said, they would turn their whole force against us; but the interests of their leaders are so various, that we should never find much difficulty in creating a division among them; and, admitting the worst, that we did not succeed, their united force would be able to make no impression on us. I have seen enough of their warfare to know that they could do little in action, and that their mode of laying waste the country would be more destructive to them-

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selves than to us, and would never effectually stop our operations. It would not hinder us from making ourselves masters of all the Malabar coast, nor from re-establishing the Rajahs of Oudipore and Jaipore, and many other princes who are impatient to recover their independence. They would soon get tired of the war, make peace with us, and resume their old disputes about the Peshwah and his minister. Their government, which was long conducted by a Peshwah or minister, in the name of the Rajah, has for more than twenty years been held by the ministers of his minister, and they are now going to decide by the sword, whether minister the first or minister the second shall usurp the Sovereign power. From a Government whose members are scarcely ever united—where there is a perpetual struggle for the supreme authority—which forms no French alliances—and whose armies are constituted in the same manner that they were last century, we have surely much less to apprehend, than from such an enemy as Tippoo. By our scheme of politics, he is to save us from Mahratta invasions, but is not to extend his dominions; but as he is always contriving means to do it, we are, on every alarm, to be at the expense of taking the field, or going to war to keep him within the bounds which we have prescribed to him; but we are never to go so far as to overturn him entirely. The consequence of all these whimsical projects will be, that we shall at last make the Native powers so warlike, that in order to enable us to oppose them, we shall be obliged to sink the whole of our revenue in augmenting our armies. Any one who compares our present military establishment, King's and Company's, with what it was twenty years ago, will see how fast we are advancing to this point. The Company may flatter themselves, that by their late arrangements they have set limits to their expenses on this head; but they must go on increasing, while the cause which produces them exists—a prince who meets us with regular armies in the field.

We have for several years had a small detachment of two battalions with the Nizam. This is too trifling a force to give us any control over his measures; but it serves as a model for him to discipline his own army, and it compels us either to abandon him disgracefully in the hour of danger, as we did last year, or to follow him headlong into every war which he may rashly undertake. He is considered as more particularly our ally than either Tippoo or the Mahrattas; and it was, therefore, at the opening of his last unfortunate campaign, mentioned with exulta-

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tion by our Resident, that there were in his camp above twenty battalions clothed and armed like English sepoys. I would rather have been told that there was not a firelock in his army. These very troops would have driven the Mahrattas from the field, had they not been deserted by the great Lords, with their bodies of horse and irregular foot, from cowardice, or more probably from treachery; and to reduce some of these turbulent, seditious Chiefs, is now the principal employment of our detachment. Thus we are wisely endeavouring to render him as absolute a Sovereign, and of course, from his greater resources of men and money, a more formidable enemy than Tippoo.

We ought to wish for the total subversion of both, even though we got no part of their dominions; but as it is not absolutely necessary that we should remain idle spectators, we might secure a share for ourselves; and were we in this overthrow of Tippoo to get only his Malabar provinces, and Seringapatam and Bangalore, with the countries lying between them and our own boundaries—our power would be much more augmented by this part, than that of the Mahrattas by all the rest. What are called the natural barriers of rivers and mountains, seldom check an enterprising enemy. The best barriers are advanced posts, from which it is easy to attack him, and to penetrate into his country, and both Bangalore and Seringapatam are excellent situations for this purpose. The balance of power in this country ought also to be formed on much the same principles—by making ourselves so strong that none of our neighbours will venture to disturb us. When we have accomplished this, their internal wars and revolutions ought to give us no concern. It is not impossible, but that the Mahratta Chiefs may settle all their differences without coming to hostilities; but if they should not, it is not easy to foresee what effect our preparations may have on Tippoo. It will most likely depend on the extent to which they are carried —he is a good judge; and if he thinks they will enable us to attack his capital, he will probably remain quiet. If they stop short of this, he will take an active part in the contest. I don't know what our plan of operation is, or if any has yet been thought of. If we are to be joined by the Nizam, we ought, I think, to follow the road of ninety-two, by Bangalore and Savendroog: if we are to have only the Rhow and Scindia, or detachments from their armies, it would be best to proceed by Caveripooram, with the Cavery on our right. They could join us by crossing the river above Seringapatam, and the Bombay army,

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from the top of the Ghauts, would reach us in two or three marches. If none of our allies can join us, we must still take this route. The reduction of the place will then, by the want of cavalry to protect our convoys, be difficult, but by no means impracticable. If we take the field, the military collectors will, I suppose, be ordered to join their regiments. If we are permitted to remain in office, and we are to have only a campaign of negotiations, I shall continue where I am; but if it is to be a real war, I am afraid I shall not be able to resist the temptation of returning to the army, though such a step will place me for the rest of my life on simple military allowances.

Your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

Derampoory, 4th March, 1797.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I HAVE received so many letters from you, written in the course of last year, that I am now, from practice, become pretty expert in deciphering your cabalistical characters. Your last packet is the 3rd June, except a few lines by Charles Craig, of the 28th September. I have not got the View of Clyde. Mr. Ross has sent me the Glasgow papers, though he does not say from whom he received them. I have been busy with them for some days past, reading about the Broomielaw and Grangemouth, and the roups of steadings and tenements, and the accomplishments of Mr. M'Gregor, who teaches graceful attributes and the art of war to colonels of regiments, for the good of his country. I don't know what to make of this Grangemouth, whether to suppose it to be the place where the canal joins the Clyde, or the old basin beyond the black quarry, to which we used often to make excursions through King's Park. The walk from thence to Cadder, if I remember right, is through a very barren, dreary country. I should however be glad to take it again, to recall the days of other years, and to compare the ideas excited by the view of the neighbouring scenes in boyish days with those of a riper age. George Brown tells me, that the expectation of deriving pleasure from such things is all a delusion, and that though most men cherish it, they soon find it vanish on trial. I believe that this is the case in general; but I should be sorry to find it so with myself. I pass so much of my time in the open air; I am so fond of rambling in the fields, even in this hot climate, that I

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am certain that, even independent of every relation to past times, I should have greater pleasure in walking along the canal, than in visiting the gayest place in Britain. From this account, you will think yourself sure of me in your intended expedition to Turkey or America, in quest of Mrs. Liston; but I can see very plainly that I shall not be of the party;—for either I shall by that time be tired of roaming, and wish to pitch my tent on some dry spot, if there be any such in Scotland, where I may sit down quietly and read novels and newspapers, and gossip out the remainder of my days with the toasts of a former century; or else I shall be restless, as I now am, or what the French call in a permanent state of revolution, and shall wish to move light, without any incumbrance either of male or female companion. I like to travel alone, because I can then go fast or slow, directly forward, or round about, just as I please. So you may easily guess that I would never answer for your squire; you could not be sure of my attendance for a day; for, supposing us both in full march for Constantinople, and arrived at Ingolstadt or Inspruck, or some such place in the heart of Germany, I might take it into my head, while you were looking at pictures or churches, or sitting down to write a description of them to one of your Glasgow friends, to push off, without giving you notice, for Switzerland or Italy. I might probably proceed from Leghorn to Aleppo, and so on to India, from whence I would write you a letter, conjuring you, for Heaven's sake, not to be alarmed for my safety, for that I was in good health at Madras, after having most providentially escaped the plague, by not accompanying you to Constantinople. You had better look out in time, and provide yourself with a more steady person than me to escort you. No one would do so well as James, if he should be able to undertake the journey. If the stars could contrive to make it fall out about the time I am leaving India, I would meet you either on the Delaware or the Bosphorus; but as I somehow or other fancy that there is nothing in the manners or customs of the Americans very different from those of our own seaport towns, I would rather hear of your being among the Turks, for this would give me an opportunity of seeing, in my route overland, besides them, the Arabs and Syrians, and the remnants of many other nations celebrated in ancient history. I hope yet to see, in spite of our absurd alarms about the balance of power, the greater part of the Turkish dominions, once the seat of all the arts, under Russia or Austria. These fine countries, which have been shut

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up from the world since the dissolution of the Roman empire, would then be laid open to the researches of philosophical travellers; and those who wished to go to something higher than philosophy, might confirm their doctrines, by digging out a brazen candlestick from the ruins of the first temple of Jerusalem, or a brick from the foundations of the Tower of Babel. If I did not think that I had already sufficiently tired your patience with dissertations on war and population, I would give you another, in which I should show "as how" the Russians would ere long be able, by their connexions with Persia, to break up the Turkish empire, without asking leave of any power but Austria, which would be glad to join in the crusade;—but these are matters of which we can talk when we meet, which, after all your threats, will not, I imagine, be in a foreign country. Were you really to determine on leaving home, I am afraid that you would be much disappointed in the pleasure which you expect from travelling. You would meet, in all countries, with the sameness and dullness of which you complain, particularly in tropical climates, where it would be increased by the languor occasioned by the heat of the sun. When confined, like a prisoner, to your chamber, by his scorching rays, with not a breath of air stirring, not a human being passing before your eyes, every thing still as if in the middle of a desert, you would then look back with regret to the busy house of Glasgow. The Americans are so like ourselves, that I should think an excursion to Philadelphia would afford you much the same entertainment as if you were to take shipping at Leith, go round the island, and land at Greenock. There would be greater novelty and variety on the continent of Europe; but as you have not the languages, you would soon be weary of looking at strange sights. In following travellers in your closet, every thing appears in its fairest form: you never consider bad weather, deep roads, the breaking down of carriages, miserable inns, and all the other heart-breaking, temper-trying accidents which constantly pursue ladies and gentlemen on their tours of pleasure. I would not have you listen to what Mrs. Liston may tell you on this matter, for she is not an impartial judge. The company of her husband will make her overlook some inconveniences, and her wish to draw you to her will make her conceal the rest. I have never been very scrupulous in offering advice, whether asked or not; and in case you should hereafter think proper to consult me on your intended travels by sea or land, I think it best, without loss of time, to tell you, that I think

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you ought never to quit your native land until you are the wife of an ambassador. If you cannot bear the absence of a single friend, how do you think you could support the separation from all those with whom you have passed your whole life? The pleasure of corresponding, and the prospect of meeting again, will soon console you for the temporary loss of Mrs. Liston. I have formerly found this to be the case with myself, when at a distance from the friends I most esteemed; but this happiness I can no longer look forward to, for all those with whom I ever kept up an unreserved and constant correspondence have been carried off within a few months of each other. I have very little of melancholy or despondency in my temper; but I feel that the season of forming disinterested friendship is now past; that I shall never again be able to give the same confidence to any new friends, as to the old ones who are gone; and that though their loss will not make the remainder of my life miserable, it will make it much more cheerless and uninteresting than if they had lived.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Derampoory, 7th February, 1798.

DEAR ERSKINE,

BOTH your sprigs of ivy have reached their destination; for they have several times visited the Cavery in my writing-table, and will yet, I hope, see the bank from whence they came. Were I a man of a devout turn of mind, they might give rise to many serious and comfortable reflections on the world to come: even as it is, they warn me that I am not what I was—that I am as withered as they—that I may return home, but that my youth and freshness will never return; and that I must, sooner or later, be mingled with the autumnal leaves of Vallombrosa, or some other valley of death. They often remind me of old women and their religious books, usually interspersed, for what reason I do not know, with dried leaves of roses and tulips in almost every page; and then I fancy myself again in the English chapel, turning over the prayer-book of Miss Yule (I think), the old lady who sat in the same pew with our mother, which, besides a collection of withered leaves, contained many excellent pictures of prophets and angels. I fancy myself again listening to the drowsy doctrines of Mr. ———, and wishing myself in the Green,

or any where but with him, while he was soaring beyond this visible diurnal sphere. But when I read your verses, I forget the ivy-mantled towers and kirks, and all the dismal countenances of the crowds of quick and dead that are poured out of them on a Sunday evening, and am transported to my old haunts at Northside. I cannot however recollect the old tree which supported your ivy sprig. There was one pretty tall tree near Jackson's dam, at the sluice, and another higher up, near the hut, made of fir branches, for undressing; but I do not remember that either of them was encircled in ivy. The trees that attracted most of my attention were in the Glebe; an old oak, (I believe,) under which I made a seat, and two fir-trees, with large projecting branches, on which I have often sat and read voyages to the East Indies, much more pleasant then than I have found them since.

I know not whether it is nature or early habits that give us an attachment to particular ways of life, but I never passed any time so pleasantly as catching eels and minnows, unless, perhaps, when I was too indolent to fish, and sat on a rock under Jackson's dam, with my feet dangling in the stream, and my eyes fixed on the water gliding among the stones. Many an idle, vacant, ruminating hour have I spent in this position, from which I was usually at length moved by some fell design against a shoal of minnows, or against the long black insect which, in a sunny day, is continually sliding along the surface of the water. After so long an interval, I find my fondness for these amusements but little abated. I was never more happy to escape from school than I am now to escape from business to some sequestered spot, to spend a truant day, just as I have done five-and-twenty years ago. There is a place about twelve miles from this, close to a little river, about half the size of Kelvin, with its banks shaded with large trees, in the midst of which stands the house or bower of Captain Irton, who has little to do himself, and is always ready to stroll or swim. I often visit him in this solitary retreat, and spend the day rationally, as I think, between walking, swimming, and fishing in a basket-boat: and if patience be a virtue, a basket-boat is an excellent school for it; for I have sat in it three hours, with the sun burning almost as much from the water as from the heavens, without catching a single minnow.

I mean to go there the day after to-morrow, to enjoy two or three Northside days. The place where I am now is far from being so pleasant, because, besides being the station of a cutcherry,

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and a large noisy village, it is on the high road from Kisnagerry to Salem and Sarkasdroog; by which means, though I have many visitors whom I am happy to see, I have sometimes others who are as tedious as any of your forenoon gossips. We have no inns in this country; and as we have much less ceremony than you have at home, it is always expected that a traveller, whether he is known or not, shall stop at any officer's house he finds on the road. When a tiresome fellow comes across me, it is not merely a forenoon's visit of which you complain so heavily, but I have him the whole day and night to myself. I do not, however, stand so much upon form as you do with your invaders. I put him into a hut called a room, with a few pamphlets or magazines, and a bundle of Glasgow newspapers, and leave him to go to business, whether I have any or not, till dinner-time, at four in the afternoon; and if I find that his conversation is too oppressive for my constitution to bear, I give him a dish of tea, —for we have no suppers now in this country,—and leave him at seven to go to more business. There is nothing in the world so fatiguing as some of these tête-à-têtes—they have frequently given me a head-ach in a hot afternoon; and I would rather walk all the time in the sun, than sit listening to a dull fellow, who entertains you with uninteresting stories, or, what is worse, with uninteresting questions. I am perfectly of your way of thinking about visitors. I like to have them either all at once in a mass, or, if they come in ones and twos, to have them of my own choosing. When they volunteer, I always wish to see two or three of them together, for then you have some relief; but it is a serious business to be obliged to engage them singly. I wonder that we waste so much of our time in praying against battle and murder, which so seldom happen, instead of calling upon Heaven to deliver us from the calamity to which we are daily exposed, of troublesome visitors. I had a letter from George Kippen last week, and one at the same time from John Malcolm, who is now a very regular correspondent of mine. I believe I have mentioned all your Glasgow friends, and have now only to say that I am also alive myself.

Your affectionate brother,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

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TO HIS FATHER.

[*On the threatened invasion of England.—Probability of war with Tippoo.—State of affairs at Hydrabad.—State and condition of the Baramahl.*]

Trichangoor, 21st September, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

THE only letter I have received from home since May 1797, was one dated in January last, from Erskine. I have been looking out for the Glasgow Couriers; but as the ships are all arrived, I can have no chance of seeing them now. I don't know whether my disappointment is to be ascribed to your not having found an opportunity of forwarding them, or to their having been intercepted by some person as fond of reading newspapers as myself. I feel the loss of them at this moment more than I should have done at any other, for I was anxious to see how my countrymen, the warlike citizens of Glasgow and the Gorbals, felt under the denunciation of the Directory of Great Britain. In reading the Parliamentary Debates, I have often been afraid that we should allow ourselves to be bullied into a peace, disgraceful for the present, and eventually more ruinous than any war; and that, like the Dutch, we should prefer buying a constitution from France, to paying for defending our own. I can hardly believe that the preparations for invasion have any other object than to make us precipitate ourselves into peace on any terms—unless they be intended for Ireland, on some hopes of co-operation. For my own part, I should not be sorry to hear of the landing of a French army in Britain, for I am convinced that the issue would show that such invasion is more formidable while impending, than when actually carried into execution; and I hope that it would infuse into all classes of men more confidence in themselves, and a certain degree of military spirit, which every nation that is within the reach of France, and that wishes to preserve its independence, must possess, until the period arrives, when, by the influence of the new philosophy, the whole world is to become one grand commonwealth of Quakers.

The alarm we had some time ago about Tippoo seems to have blown over. He has, no doubt, entered into some conditional engagements with the French; but the sight of preparations on our part, and the uncertainty of receiving any assistance from France, have probably determined him to give up all thoughts of

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war, or at least not to venture on hostilities before he is sure of being supported. He is now in Seringapatam, busied, as he has been for some years past, in improving its fortifications, but is taking no measures for an offensive campaign. I have always thought that it was essentially necessary to our own security, that no such power as his should exist; because, however limited it may be, he is always ready, from the discipline of his army, and from his own disposition, to take advantage of any dissensions among the neighbouring states; and as he knows that we are the principal obstacle to his aggrandizement, he is always ready to suspend his more partial enmities, and to join in any combination, either with the country powers, or with France, to extirpate us. I wished anxiously that we should have seized the present opportunity of reducing him, before we could be prevented by the return of peace with France: but if Government ever had any design of this kind, it has been delayed, and, I believe, very properly, in order to effect what requires more immediate operations,—the overthrow of the strong democratic party at Hyderabad. The Nizam has for many years had a few corps of sepoys, officered by Europeans of different nations, but the whole commanded by a Mons. Raymond. They were for a long time neither well paid nor well armed, nor were they dangerous either from their numbers or discipline; but, after the late war, Raymond was permitted to make new levies: he obtained a large tract of country in Jageer for their maintenance, and was enabled to pay them regularly, to clothe and arm them completely, and to bring them into a high state of order. He was soon at the head of fifteen thousand men, with a train of field artillery; he hoisted the tricoloured flag on all occasions; and, at last, became formidable to his master. Could any strong body of French troops have been landed in India, it is most likely he would have joined them and Tippoo against the English and the Nizam; but, whatever his projects might have been, he, fortunately for us, died in the midst of them, about two months ago. He has left no successor of equal abilities or influence; and as the different commandants have various interests, and show but little deference to their present chief, the Nizam has, either of himself or by the interference of the Supreme Government, conceived the design of breaking them altogether, or, at least, of disbanding all the corps that are suspected of being under French influence. A strong detachment has been formed in Guntoor, to march, in case of necessity, to Hyderabad. The sooner they

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move the better, for no time ought to be lost in destroying this party, so hostile to our interests in the Deccan. Raymond owed the rapid increase of his power to the weak, timid policy of * * * * * *, who might have suppressed it in the beginning, if not by remonstrance, at least by menace; but he chose rather to sit and view its progress quietly, than to do any thing to risk, or what he thought was risking, hostilities.

The unity, regularity, and stability of our governments in India, since they have been placed under Bengal, and our great military force, give us such a superiority over the ever-changing, tottering governments of the native princes, that we might, by watching times and opportunities, and making a prudent and vigorous use of our resources, extend our dominion without much danger or expense, and at no very distant period, over a great part of the Peninsula. Our first care ought to be directed to the total subversion of Tippoo. After becoming masters of Seringapatam and Bangalore, we should find no great difficulty afterwards in advancing to the Kistna, when favoured by wars or revolutions in the neighbouring states; and such occasions would seldom be wanting, for there is not a government among them that has consistency enough to deserve the name. There are few of the obstacles here that present themselves to conquest in Europe. We have no ancient constitution or laws to overturn, for there is no law in India but the will of the sovereign; and we have no people to subdue, nor national pride or animosity to contend with, for there are no distinct nations in India, like French and Spaniards, Germans and Italians. The people are but one people; for, whoever be their rulers, they are still all Hindoos: it is indifferent to them whether they are under Europeans, Mussulmans, or their own Rajahs. They take no interest in political revolutions; and they consider defeat and victory as no concern of their own, but merely as the good or bad fortune of their masters; and they only prefer one to another, in proportion as he respects their religious prejudices, or spares taxation. It is absurd to say that we must never extend our dominions, though we see a state falling to pieces, and every surrounding one seizing a portion of its territory. We ought to have some preconcerted general scheme to follow on such occasions; for, if we have not, it is probable that we shall either let most of them slip altogether, or, by acting in too great a hurry, not derive so much advantage from them as we might otherwise have done.

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The Baramahl has now been completely surveyed, and the rents of it fixed. They are, on an average, nearly what they were under Tippoo. The inhabitants paid the same then as now; but the deficiency of his receipts arose from the peculations of an host of revenue-officers. The rents here, as I believe in every other part of India, are too high. This circumstance, joined to the general poverty of the people, is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement, and it has hitherto prevented the lease from being settled. Government have desired it to be made so as to sit light on the inhabitants; but they were not aware that, in order to effect this, they must relinquish twenty or twenty-five per cent. of the present revenue. This reduction will be recommended to them by every argument that can be thought of; but I am not sure that they will have resolution enough to agree to it. I do not myself approve of attempting to establish a general lease at once over the whole country. There are many arguments against such a measure, founded on the poverty, the ignorance, and the manners of the people, which it would be tedious to detail. I rather wish to continue the plan now followed, which consists in letting every farmer please himself: he may take as much or as little land as he pleases every year; he may reject his old fields and take new; he may keep a part of the whole for one year or twenty, as he finds it most convenient; and as every field has a rate of assessment, which never varies, he knows perfectly what he has to trust to, and that his rent can never rise or fall but exactly in proportion to the extent of land he occupies. All that is required of him is, that he shall give notice, between the 12th of April and the 12th of July, of whatever land he means to relinquish, in order that it may be given in these months, which are the principal season of cultivation, to any other man who wants it. If he fails in this, he is obliged to pay the rent for the ensuing year. By persevering in this system, the farmers would soon know how much land they could manage: they would cease to abandon whatever fields they had in any degree improved; and this practice, which would answer every purpose of a lease, would gradually extend over the whole country. If we endeavour to establish the lease every where at once, it could not be permanent; for ignorance and inexperience, both on our side and on that of the farmers, would lead many of them into engagements which they would not be afterwards able to fulfil. The Baramahl contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants, among whom there are above

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sixty thousand farmers, who hold their lands immediately of Government; but as the same man is frequently reckoned two or three times, from having farms in different places, and as a father and son often appear separately, the whole number of independent farmers is probably not above forty-five or fifty thousand. There are not ten men among them who pay one hundred and fifty pagodas of rent. The rents of the middling class of farmers run usually from about ten to twenty pagodas; so that you see we have no great landholders in this part of India. Many causes concur to prevent the existence of such an order of men:—the oppression of Government, and frequent wars, which hinder the accumulation of property, by fines or plunder; the universal practice of early marriage, and of equal inheritance of all male children, and the simplicity and cheapness of cultivation. Whenever a farmer's servant saves a few rupees, he buys a pair of bullocks. His plough does not cost him a rupee: he rents a few acres from Government, and commences farmer himself: if he is successful, he continues his business; and if he meets with an accident, he sells his cattle to pay his rent, and returns to his former employment of a common labourer. In such a state of things, it is almost impossible that great landed property can ever be obtained by any one man, unless by fraud or violence. The great number of farmers in the Baramahl necessarily occasions much detail in the management of the revenue; but there is no difficulty in it,—nothing is required, but constant attention; and where this is given, it is both better for the country and easier for the collector to receive the rents directly from sixty thousand farmers, than by the medium of ten or twelve zemindars, or great landholders. The rent of the division of the country under my charge last year was one hundred and sixty-five thousand pagodas, which was collected within the year, without a single rupee outstanding, and without any trouble, from about twenty thousand farmers. The rent of dry land, or land which is only watered by rain, is never less than half a rupee, or more than a pagoda per acre. The rent of wet land, or land which can be overflowed by tanks or rivers, is usually four times as much. I shall probably write you more fully hereafter of these matters; but I am in some measure deterred by considering how improper it would be that any revenue details should by accident get public, before they had officially reached the Directors. Your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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Not long after the preceding letter was written, the hostile designs of Tippoo became fully known to the Supreme Government; and Lord Mornington, with an energy rarely equalled, and never surpassed, made adequate preparations to defeat them. Of these, as well as of the negotiations by which a war was sought to be avoided, it is unnecessary to give here any account. No reader of English history can have forgotten, that to the remonstrances and warnings of the Governor-General, Tippoo turned a deaf ear; and that the assembly of two formidable armies, one under General Harris at Madras, the other under General Stuart at Bombay, failed of producing any effect. Finally, in the month of February 1799, the British troops, supported by a corps from the Nizam's army, took the field, and on the 11th, General Harris commenced his march towards Seringapatam.

To facilitate the operations of the grand army, by supplying it with provisions and stores, an independent corps was collected in Baramahl, under Colonel Read, to which Captain Munro became attached. With this body he continued to serve till the reduction of Seringapatam, when he was nominated joint secretary with his friend, Captain, now Sir John Malcolm, to the commissioners appointed to arrange the partition treaty. The following extract from a letter to his father gives an account of this campaign, and describes his own severe suffering from ill-health during its prosecution; whilst the remarks upon Tippoo's government and character, as well as the prophetic declaration of the line of policy which the Company would find it necessary henceforth to adopt, possess even now too much of interest to be withheld.

TO HIS FATHER.

Bekul, 6th August, 1799.

——— You will think it extraordinary, that instead of writing you military details as usual, until Erskine was tired of them, I should have been silent during the late short but eventful war, which terminated the life and the empire of Tippoo Sultan, and gave us such complete revenge for all the murders

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and desolations committed by the House of Hyder. But bad health and a great deal of business, at least more than I could manage in the weak state I was in, rendered me not only incapable of writing, but even of observing with attention what was going on.

I was attacked by one of those fevers which the faculty call anomalous, about the 22nd of January. It sometimes continued day and night, and always visited me many hours every day, for one-and-forty days. It began, when I was on a visit at Kisnagerry, with headaches and shivering now and then; I thought I might have drunk a glass or two of bad wine. I drank nothing but water; but I was still attacked as before; and I believe it was ten days before I discovered, by a regular cold and hot fit, that my visitor was an ague of some sort or other. He was immediately plied with bark: but he had got too firm a hold to be easily driven out. I had by this time settled that I was to go to the field as secretary to Colonel Read, who was appointed to the command of a detachment of the army. I returned to Derampoory about the 10th of February, to arrange matters for delivering over charge of the revenue to an assistant. My disorder continued to increase, and I set out for Kisnagerry again about the middle of the month. I had no conveyance but a horse, which I rode twelve miles to a village, where I had pitched a tent. At night I found that his motion had brought new complaints upon me—pains over all my body, which for a month after never permitted me to sleep, or even to remain awake in bed more than four hours out of the twenty-four. They came upon me while I was asleep, and always awakened me regularly at one or two in the morning, according as I might have lain down at nine or ten o'clock. When once wakened, no turning could give me the smallest relief, but rather made me worse; the only remedy was to sit up in my chair till morning, which I did every night for five weeks. On my arrival next day at Kisnagerry, the fever was so violent and constant, that the doctors were obliged to stop the bark, and dose me with antimonials, &c. in order to obtain an intermission. This was effected, but at the expense of my hearing; for, from four or five in the morning, till eight or nine, was the only time I could hear. All the rest of the day I was as deaf as any old man on earth. I remained much in the same condition for near a fortnight. The few intervals in which I could attend to any thing, I was obliged to employ in accounts of revenue, and grain, cattle, and other supplies, for the equipment of

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the army. I never thought my life in any danger; but I had serious apprehensions of remaining for ever deaf, and also of losing my memory, which I found did not serve me as usual. The fever, however, began to abate about the end of the month; and as the army had gone on to Policode, I went up the Raicottah Pass, to meet it on the 4th of March. The change of air produced the effect which I expected; for on this day the fever left me, and never afterwards returned.

The right wing of the army entered the enemy's country on the 6th of March, the left on the 7th, and the reserve, with Colonel Read's detachment, on the 8th. I could not bear the motion either of a palankeen or a horse, and was therefore obliged to walk. The day was extremely hot and close, while the dust, trampled by fifty thousand men, and as many horses and bullocks, rose like clouds of smoke; the dust cleared away for a few seconds, sometimes in one quarter and sometimes in another, giving us a glimpse of the Nizam's cavalry, and elephants glittering in the sun, and then closing again. In better health I should have enjoyed the scene; but I now beheld it with indifference; long sickness had so unhinged me, that I was almost dissolved in sweat. About noon we reached our ground; and while sitting under a tree, waiting the arrival of our tents, I pulled two stoppers of lint out of my ears, which the doctors had desired me never to remove until the sun got warm; and I was surprised to find that I heard as well as ever. The heat had probably loosened something which had obstructed my hearing. We marched again next day, and delivered our supplies to the army, which pursued its march on the 10th towards Seringapatam, leaving Colonel Read behind, with instructions to bring on a large body of Brinjarries, then on their way from Hyderabad, and to join the army by the route of Caukanhilly. The Brinjarries not being expected before the beginning of April, Colonel Read resolved to employ the intermediate time in reducing the posts held by the Sultan's troops above the Ghauts, along the frontiers from Raicottah to Peddanadurgam. A hill-fort, called Soolagury, was the only place that made any resistance, and it was taken by assault. Some other posts of little strength were evacuated on our approach.

A letter received on the 27th, dated Camp of Sultanpit, 14th April, from the General, informed Colonel Read that the plan of attack was changed,—that the army was to cross the Cavery, and that he must therefore come on by the Caveryporam Pass. The

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original plan was to attack the north-east angle; but information of its having been greatly strengthened, the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of favouring the junction of the Bombay army without passing the Cavery, induced the General to cross it, and attack the west angle of Seringapatam. Colonel Read, on receiving his orders, descended from the Peddanadurgam Pass, and returned to Kisnagerry. The Brinjarries came in about the 10th; but as, from the failure of the monsoon, there was no water between Policode and the Cavery, a distance of forty miles, he could not venture to march from the Caverypatam river till after a heavy fall of rain on the 14th; he reached Caveryporam on the 22nd, which immediately capitulated. The Pass, which is thirty miles in length, winding between two lofty ranges of mountains, and through which no army had passed for half a century, required great labour to clear it. We got to Marathully at the head of it on the 27th, and found that General Floyd with all the cavalry, and three battalions of infantry, had reached Cowdhully, six miles in our front, the day before. We learned with surprise from him that the grain of the grand army would be out on the 4th of May. As there was not a blade of forage in the Pass, it was necessary to leave the Brinjarries behind, till the road was made, and they could not possibly now be up before the 2nd. I wished much to have marched on the 3rd, as there were then enough above the Pass to have supplied the army three or four weeks, and to have pushed on so as to reach Seringapatam on the 6th or 7th, leaving all the rest of the Brinjarries behind, and also Colonel Brown's detachment, which had then entered the Pass; but General Floyd having been ordered to join Colonel Brown, thought it would be impossible to move on without him, especially as he was so near; he joined on the 5th; we halted to let him rest on the 6th. Early on the morning of this day we learned from two spies that Seringapatam had been taken on the 4th, at noon; but as they did not perfectly agree in their accounts, and as official notice had been received from Lord Mornington, that the grain in store in camp would be all out on the 7th, and the army exposed to destruction if not speedily relieved, we marched and got to Seringapatam on the 11th, where we found every thing in the greatest abundance, for the bazaars were not only full, but the granaries contained near two lacs of bullock-loads of paddy. The public grain of the army would only have lasted till the 7th; but a quantity sufficient to last fifteen days longer was discovered in the possession of dealers,

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who had brought it on for sale. This being secured, and most of the followers sent away, there was enough to have served the fighting-men, had the place not fallen, nor General Floyd arrived when he did. You will, long before this can reach you, have seen in the public papers all the details of this interesting siege, and the death of Tippoo; I shall therefore go on with the history of my own recovery. I had, before my arrival at Seringapatam, got rid of the pains which always called me out of bed; but I had still, in a greater degree than ever, profuse cold sweats, whick kept me so weak that I could hardly drag myself along with the detachments.

Colonel Read marched on the 17th, with orders to proceed by Bangalore to Nundidroog, and to summon all the forts between Seringapatam and Raicottah, in order to open the communication with the Carnatic: all of them were given up without any hesitation. We found Savendroog strengthened, Bangalore completely demolished, and Nundidroog almost impregnable. He had no written instructions to go farther; but he conceived that the General had verbally given him a discretionary power to act according to circumstances,—he therefore marched towards Sera on the 28th of May, meaning to proceed by Chitteldroog to Biddanore. He signified his intentions in a letter written from Savendroog; and this afternoon, on reaching his encampment, he received an answer to it, ordering him back to Bangalore. He was irregular in acting on mere conversation; but ordering him back was, I am afraid, a greater mistake on the other hand. It was known that some of the remains of the Sultan's army had assembled in the Biddanore province, under Dhondagee, a Mahratta, who had been circumcised by Hyder; had commanded a body of horse in his service; had afterwards been a freebooter, plundering both in the Mysore and Mahratta territories, and had lately been taken by Tippoo and put in irons, from which he had been released on the day of the assault, by an officer who did not know his character. It was necessary that a strong detachment should have moved towards him without delay, to prevent him from gathering strength, by the accession of the stragglers of the late Sultan's army, who were ready to join any leader for the sake of plunder. The consequence of this not having been done is, that he has now been for some time in possession of the whole Biddanore country, which he has completely ransacked, and that a large force, if not the whole army, must march to drive him out as soon as the weather permits. I left Colonel Read at Nundi-

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droog, and returned to Bangalore, to take charge of the revenue, till it should be determined to whom it was in future to belong. I got there on the 30th of May; the weather was very cold, and this was the first day on which my cold sweats stopped. I was obliged to set out again on the 8th of June, for Seringapatam, to put myself under the commissioners.

During the whole of the campaign, I was so oppressed with lassitude that I could not go through half of my public duty, and I therefore never thought of writing private letters. The most material transactions will appear in the newspapers; and I hope that a great deal of the correspondence of Hyder and Tippoo, with the different powers of India, and with Turkey, Persia, and France, will be hereafter published. The whole of the correspondence with the French, previous to the late war, is amongst the records, as also the offensive and defensive alliance against us. The great blow which Tippoo received at the conclusion of the former war, by the loss of half his country, appears to have confounded him, and to have worked so great a change on his character, that he was at times reported to be mad. He never had the talents of his father; but he had always, till that event, paid his army regularly, kept it in good order, given a great deal of attention to business, and managed his finances tolerably well: but from that time his whole soul seems to have been filled with nothing but schemes of vengeance; and so eager was he for the end, that he overlooked the means. A restless spirit of innovation, and a wish to have every thing to originate from himself, was the predominant feature of his character. He had, some years before the French revolution, new-named all the forts in his dominions, and the whole sixty years of the Indian cycle; and, though a bigoted Mussulman, he had altered the venerable names of the Arabic months, and substituted another era for that of the Hegira. He had abolished all old weights and measures and coins, and introduced new; and he had new-modelled his revenue and army, and issued various codes of regulations to his civil and military officers. After the reverse of his fortunes in 1792, the rage for novelty, instead of abating, increased: he issued more regulations, not only to the principal officers of state, but to those in the most subordinate situations,—to the persons who had the charge of his gardens, of his buildings, of feeding his bullocks and his elephants, &c. none of which were ever attended to. Most of them contain an exordium by himself, setting forth the excellence of loyalty and the true faith, and

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endeavouring to inspire his subjects with a detestation of Caffers, or infidels, that is to say, Europeans in general, but particularly Englishmen, by lavishing curses and execrations upon them. Happening one day to pick up his instructions to the superintendent of his bullocks, the first line I read was, "a Caffer—a dog—and a hog, are all three brothers in the same family." He divided his Government into seven principal boards, or departments, one of which was the navy, without a single ship of war. He divided his country into thirty-seven provinces, under Dewans or Assophs, as he called them; and subdivided these again into one thousand and twenty-five inferior districts, having each a Tishildar, with an expensive establishment of revenue servants. He knew no way of checking abuses but by augmenting the number of men in office, and sending two Assophs to almost every province, instead of one, to prey upon the inhabitants. The defalcation of the revenue, which had formerly been about twenty per cent., was now above fifty. His bigotry led him to make none but Mussulmans Tishildars; most of them could neither read nor write, and were often selected from the lowest ranks of the military, at the annual muster in his presence, merely from some fancy that he took to their looks. These men were frequently recalled in the course of a year or two, and placed at one of the principal boards. This so disgusted the old servants of his father, that many of them retired from public affairs, to lead a private life in their own houses. By these and such like promotions, the number of officers was augmented, while that of his fighting-men was diminished. He had about one hundred and fifty general officers to an army that did not exceed twenty-one thousand regular infantry and eight thousand horse, though he had above thirty thousand infantry and twelve thousand five hundred horse on his returns; while his father had not ten Generals when he was in the Carnatic, with forty thousand horse, and above sixty thousand infantry of different kinds. His army fell every year more and more into arrears; and when Seringapatam was attacked, it had only received two issues of pay during the last fourteen months. Besides an expensive civil and military establishment, beyond the resources of his revenue, he was carrying on repairs in most of his forts, but particularly Seringapatam itself, on which he had laid out, since the former war, about twelve lacs of pagodas. He did not however hesitate, amidst all his difficulties, to enter into a treaty with France, by which he engaged to defray all the charges of a body of from

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twelve to twenty thousand French troops. One of the articles shows the extravagant imaginations with which he sometimes amused himself. He proposes that the French shall land at Sedashagur, to the southward of Goa; that it shall be taken from the Portuguese and given up to them; that Bombay shall next be taken and given to the French; that the whole Malabar coast shall then be reduced; after which they shall pursue their conquests up the Coromandel coast, take Madras and Musulipatam, from whence he shall detach forty thousand horse and as many infantry, under one of his Generals, along with the French, to subdue Bengal. Before entering into this treaty, he sent round queries in writing to the members of the seven principal departments, desiring their opinions upon the policy of the measure. His own sentiments were known, and they all therefore recommended its adoption except one man, who had been formerly a merchant, and belonged at that time, I believe, to the Board of Trade; he dissuades him from having any thing to do with the French; tells him that the plan cannot succeed; that the very act of his consulting them was imprudent; that the secret could not be kept by so many men; that the English would hear of it, and attack him before he could receive assistance: but he was too much bent upon war himself to be turned from it by the arguments of one man; besides, he was continually urged to it by Seid Saheb, who, being his father-in-law, could take more liberty than any other person with him. In private conferences, when no one was present but a confidential secretary, he used frequently to ask him, how long they were to sit down quietly under their disgrace and calamity, and to tell him that he had considered him dead as a prince from the day he surrendered half his country, and that he should always regard him in that light until he should conquer it again. After the campaign opened, he did very little to retard the progress of our armies. His design against the Bombay army was well concerted, but very badly conducted.

It appeared from the papers found after his death, that he had obtained very accurate information of the paths leading through the woods to the rear of the advanced brigade which he meant to attack. It appears by General Stuart's public letters, that the first intimation he had of his design was the sight of his tents, and that even then he did not believe it was him, but a detachment of no great consequence. Had Tippoo not been fool enough to have shown himself, by pitching his tents at Periapatam; had

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he remained that day in the open air, and marched early next morning against Colonel Montroser's brigade, he would, without doubt, have cut it off, and most probably the greatest part of the rest of the army would have shared the same fate. His repulse here seems to have discouraged him so much, that he gave very little interruption to the march of the grand army. As it approached, he fell back, and shut himself up in his capital, placing his dependence upon the siege being raised for want of provisions in camp, and upon his holding out till the Cavery should fill, and make the carrying on of any farther operations against it impracticable. He seldom went to his palace during the siege, but spent most of his time sitting behind a cavalier, or visiting the ramparts. He did not go towards the breach,—the state of it was concealed from him by his principal officers; but one of his servants, impatient at hearing the false reports brought to him, called out to him that there was a breach, and that it would soon be practicable. This intelligence seemed to rouse him,—he resolved to see it with his own eyes; and therefore, on the following morning, which was that of the day previous to the assault, he went early to the spot; he viewed with amazement the condition in which it was; he shook his head, but said nothing; he returned to his old station behind the cavalier, where he remained sullen and buried in thought, as if conscious that his doom was now fixed, seldom making any inquiries about what was doing, and driving away with an angry answer whoever came to ask him for orders. Bigot as he was, his apprehensions rendered him superstitious enough to induce him to invite the aid of Hindoo prayers and ceremonies to avert the evil which threatened him, and to call for an Hindoo astrologer to draw a favourable omen from the stars. With a man of this description he spent the last morning of his life; he desired him to consult the heavens. The man answered that he had done so, and that they were unfavourable unless peace was made. He was ordered to look again, but returned the same answer. Tippoo gave him money, and desired him to pray for him, and then drank water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune.

When the assault commenced, he repaired to the outer ramparts; but being driven from them, he fell as he was returning into the body of the place, in a passage under the rampart, called the Water-Gate, his horse falling at the same time; and his palankeen being thrown down, the road was choked up, and almost every soul in the gateway slain. Though he had got a

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wound in the leg, and two or three balls in the body, he was still alive, and continued in this state above an hour. One of his servants, Rajoo Khan, who lay wounded beside him, asked his leave one or twice, when parties of soldiers were passing, to discover him, but he always commanded him to be silent. At last a soldier who was passing in quest of plunder, and at whom it is said he attempted to cut, shot him through the head: the ball entered the right temple, and passed through the left jaw. It was for a long time thought that he had concealed himself in the palace; and while parties were searching it to no purpose, in order to put him to death for the murder of nine Europeans who had fallen into his hands on the 5th of April, the Killedar reported that he had been seen lying in the Water-Gate. As it was now dark, a party was sent with lights to search for him. After dragging out a great number of bodies, he was at last found half-naked: he was known by his long drawers, and by some marks about his person. He was drawn from amidst a heap of slain, among whom his legs were twisted; and carried to the palace, where he was laid on a palankeen, and exposed to view all next day, in order that no doubt might remain of his death; and in the evening he was buried with military honours, in the cypress garden, by the side of his father. With him fell at once the whole fabric of his empire; for the very means he had taken to strengthen it, hastened its downfall. The families of all his principal officers had always been kept as hostages in Seringapatam, and being now in our hands, it gave us an advantage, in their opinion, which, as a civilized enemy, we could not have used. By employing troops from all countries, by raising his officers from the lowest ranks, and by paying the whole army himself, he made them dependent on himself alone; so that, after his death, no person having sufficient influence to keep them together, the greatest part of them either dispersed or surrendered. He was so suspicious and cruel, that none of his subjects, probably none of his own children, lamented his fall. Cruelty and deceit were the two great engines of his policy; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying. He perhaps never made a promise, nor entered into an engagement, without considering, in the same instant, how it was to be broken. The cruel punishments which he frequently inflicted, on the most groundless suspicions, put a stop to all private correspondence in his dominions; his nearest relations even did not venture to write to each other, but

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sent verbal messages respecting their health or affairs. He had murdered all his English prisoners not restored at the end of the last war; and it would have been death for any man to be known as one who could speak or read English. Intercepted correspondence gave him no insight as to our intended movements:—we found most of the intercepted letters of the late and former war lying unopened, so that we might have saved ourselves the trouble of using a cipher. He had an active mind, which never suffered him to be idle; but his time was badly distributed, and much of it wasted in matters of no real utility. With a most barbarous taste, he affected to be fond of literature; but he was too tyrannical and too parsimonious to be an encourager of it. His reign produced no works that are worth reading, except the journals kept by his orders by the ambassadors he sent to foreign courts; and even these, from what I have seen, contain very little interesting matter. A history of his own family was compiling under his own directions, but it has not yet been found. He wrote many hours every day, either a journal of orders issued by himself, and of reports received by spies, vakeels, or commanders of detachments; or memorandums respecting intended promotions, embassies, repairs of forts, marriages of his principal officers, concubines for himself, imprisonments and executions; besides this, much of his time was consumed in signing papers, for he not only signed all public acts, but likewise the innumerable letters and orders which were continually passing from the different officers to all parts of the empire. When they were brought to him, he was frequently busy about something else, and could not attend to them; by which means, bundles of letters often accumulated for several months; and when he at last signed them, it was often too late, as the circumstances for which they had been intended were entirely changed. The account which he heard of the pomp and magnificence of foreign courts, made him ambitious, with very inadequate means, of imitating, or rather mimicking, in the etiquette and regulation of his principal departments, the state of the Sublime Porte. His civil and military government was therefore divided into seven principal departments, under each of which were many subordinate offices, dignified with sounding Persian and Turkish names: and the presidents, and most of the members of all of them, were Mussulmans, whom he had been obliged to get from Hyderabad and the Carnatic, as there were but few in Mysore, many of them low vagabonds, who were

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almost ashamed to hear their own magnificent titles; these fellows, however, went through all the grimace of statesmen, while all real business was conducted by Bramins. As he had given himself out as the champion of the faith, who was to drive the English Caffers out of India, he thought it necessary to gather about him as many Mussulmans as possible, and to employ them in all situations, to the exclusion of abler men of other castes: his Assophs and Tishildars, or provincial and district collectors, were therefore all true believers; and when the Assophs were summoned to the presence, as they always were once a-year, to settle their accounts, they were under the protection of Meer Sadek, the Dewan, who, having the greatest share of all their defalcations, took care to secure them from discovery. The cutcherry Brahmins who were to examine the accounts, having likewise their respective shares of the plunder, were interested also in keeping it concealed; and the Sultan himself, as he had raised them to high stations, thought it necessary, for the honour of the faith, to treat them with respect,—he therefore never talked to them of accounts; he invited them to an entertainment,—made them sit beside him,—asked them if the mosques he had ordered to be built were finished,—if prayers were regularly said,—how many Mussulmans were in the district, and such like questions; and dismissed them in a few days to return to their stations, and renew their depredations. He dictated all orders himself, and even the very words of them; and was so particular in this, that he often made his moonshees write over a letter two or three times. In letters, and regulations, and writing of every kind, he spent a great deal too much of his time; but he took little pains to see them executed, and left all investigations of revenue matters entirely to Meer Sadek. His leisure hours were chiefly spent in looking at jewels. He never bought any; but his father had collected a vast number in the different places that had fallen to his arms, and used frequently to make presents of them to officers who had distinguished themselves; but Tippoo was too fond of them to give them away. He had generally a casket lying on his table to amuse himself with, when he was tired of business. He had constantly a number of jewellers employed in making them up into various ornaments for himself and his women. He gave the models himself, and directed how they were to be made, and always delivered and received the jewels himself from the workmen. He had bewildered himself for many years past so much

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in trifling details, that he had abandoned the essentials for the forms of business, and permitted his affairs to run rapidly to ruin. The only objects that he pursued with invariable constancy, were the discipline of his army and the fortifying Seringapatam.

You will see in the papers how the partition-treaty has been made. I believe that it has not met with general approbation here. Had I had any thing to do in it, I certainly would have had no Rajah of Mysore, in the person of a child, dragged forth from oblivion, to be placed on a throne on which his ancestors, for three generations, had not sat during more than half a century. I would have divided the country equally with the Nizam, and endeavoured to prevail on him to increase his subsidy, and take a greater body of our troops; but, whether he consented or not, I would still have thought myself bound by treaty to give him his fair half of the country. I would have given the Mahrattas a few districts, provided they consented to fulfil their last treaty with him; but not otherwise. We have now made great strides in the South of India. Many think we have gone too far; but I am convinced that the course of events will still drive us on, and that we cannot stop till we get to the Kistna. I meant, when I began this letter, merely to have given you the history of my fever, in order to account for my apparent negligence in writing, and to let you know exactly how I was left. You might have had worse accounts of me from other quarters; but I have, as usual, run into a long gossiping story of Tippoo and his family. But he is now at rest; and this is the last time I shall trouble you with him. Your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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CHAPTER IV.

Appointed to superintend the affairs of Canara.—Correspondence with General Wellesley.—Letters to his relations.

By the terms of the partition-treaty, incident upon the overthrow of Tippoo, the province of Canara was assigned, among other acquisitions, to the British Government. It is a wild and rugged district, situated on the western coast of India, between the 12th and 15th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded, on the north, by the Portuguese territory, and Samboty in the southern Mahratta country; on the south, by the province of Malabar; on the east, by Mysore and the Balaghaut territories; and on the west, by the sea. It extends one hundred and eighty miles along the shore, and has been estimated to contain about seven thousand three hundred and eighty square miles of surface, of which four thousand six hundred and twenty-two are below, and two thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, including Belghy, Soondah, and Soopah, are above the Ghauts. Of this province Captain Munro was, at the express desire of the Governor-General, immediately requested to take charge, for the purpose of introducing into it, as he had been largely instrumental in introducing into Baramahl, the authority of the East India Company.

There were a variety of circumstances which led the subject of this memoir to view his present appointment with regret. A long residence in Baramahl, and a thorough knowledge of its inhabitants, had attached him, in a remarkable degree, to the country, which was now, through his own and his coadjutor's exertions, reduced to perfect order. It is true, that he had hitherto acted the part there only of assistant to Colonel Read; but the approaching resignation of that

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officer was already known, and Captain Munro had, with great show of reason, anticipated that he would himself be nominated to succeed him. It was therefore no agreeable communication which announced to him, that, instead of being permitted to reap the fruits of past exertions, he was about to be transferred to a district even more unsettled than that in which his revenue labours began, where the inhabitants were understood to be peculiarly savage, the climate peculiarly unfavourable, and all intercourse with Europeans in a great degree cut off. Nor was this all. Though the province of Malabar had been at that time eight years in our possession, the attempts to reduce it to due subjection were by no means attended with success; and hence it was very fairly anticipated, that the discontented chieftains there would make common cause with the people of Canara, in resisting the authority of the new collector. These considerations were not without their weight, in producing a disinclination on the part of Captain Munro to accept the appointment; but that which influenced him more than any thing besides was, the prospect of being separated entirely from old friends and associates. He accordingly declined, for a time, to undertake a task of which he dreaded not so much the difficulties as the irksomeness; nor was it till he had been clearly shown how deeply the interests of his country were involved in his acceptance or rejection of the charge, that he consented to sacrifice private feeling in order to advance the public good.

How Captain Munro spent his days in Baramahl, his own letters serve in part to show. Though attentive in no common degree to business, he always had leisure for the prosecution of private study. Under this head he included not merely the attentive perusal of the best English, French, and other European authors, but the acquisition of the native dialects. Of Persian and Hindostanee he was very early master; and he now made himself familiar with the Mahratta, the Canarese, and almost every other vernacular language in the Peninsula. In most he could converse with

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fluency, and in all he could express himself intelligibly; whilst an occasional indulgence in social intercourse, and an occasional fit of idleness, sent him back with fresh vigour to his toils. When the latter disposition came upon him, however, he never gave it vent, by partaking in the ordinary recreations of his countrymen. He was no sportsman, either with the gun or with the hounds; and to cards he entertained a particular aversion; but he swam, played billiards, quoits, and fives, with great skill and spirit; indeed, his partiality for the last-mentioned game was such, that he has frequently been heard to assert, "that he would rather live upon half-pay, in a garrison which could boast of a fives-court, than vegetate on full batta where there was none." Now all these amusements were to be laid aside. He was called upon to remove to a province, where, with the exception of his own assistants, and at rare intervals a military officer, his eye would scarcely rest upon an European countenance from one year's end to another; and though he obeyed the call, it was with a despondency which never quitted him during his residence in Canara. The following extracts from letters to his sister, announcing his appointment, will show that his feelings on the occasion have not been misrepresented.

TO HIS SISTER.

Deria Doulet Garden, 30th June, 1799; a Palace built by Hyder, near Seringapatam.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I HAVE now turned my back upon the Baramahl and the Carnatic, and with a deeper sensation of regret than I felt on leaving home; for at that time the vain prospect of imaginary happiness in new and distant regions occupied all my thoughts; but I see nothing where I am now going to compensate for what I have lost,—a country and friends, that have been endeared to me by a residence of twenty years. I feel also a great reluctance to renew the labour which I have so long undergone in the Baramahl. It leaves few intervals for amusement, or for the studies I am fond of, and wears out both the body and the mind. Col.

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Read has sent in his resignation; and I had anticipated the pleasure of sitting down in the Baramahl, and enjoying a few years of rest after so many of drudgery; for that country is now surveyed and settled, and requires very little attention to keep it in order. It is a romantic country, and every tree and mountain has some charm which attaches me to them. I began a few years ago to make a garden near Derampoory, sheltered on one side by a lofty range of mountains, and on the other by an aged grove of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square, lined with stone steps; and the spring is so plentiful, that besides watering abundantly every herb and tree, there is always a depth of ten or twelve feet of clear water for bathing. I have numbers of young orange, mango, and other fruit-trees in a very thriving state. I had a great crop of grapes this year; and my pine beds are now full of fruit. When I happened to be at Derampoory, I always spent at least an hour every day at this spot; and to quit it now, goes as much to my heart as forsaking my old friends. I must now make new ones, for there is not a man in Canara whom I ever saw in my life. Nothing would have induced me to go there, had I not been pointed out for the business of settling that country. I had at one time declined having any thing to do with it; and only two considerations brought me, after wavering some days, to accept of it: the one, a sense of public duty; and the other, the chance which I might have of being enabled to return a year or two sooner to Europe than I could have done by remaining in the Baramahl; but I can have no certainty of this, as my salary is not yet fixed.

The village where I am now halted is seventeen miles west of Seringapatam, and was formerly the Jagheer of Tippoo's execrable Dewan, Meer Sadek, who was cut in pieces by his own troops at the memorable storm of that capital. It was burned down by Cummer ul Din, when he followed General Floyd to Periapatam, to hinder his junction with the Bombay army in April last; and the inhabitants are now busy roofing their houses. The burning of a village is not so great a calamity in this country as might be imagined; for the houses are in general so mean, that, among the lower ranks, the labour of a man and his family, for a couple of days, will repair the mischief; and even among the middling ranks, eight or ten rupees will cover all the damage that their houses can suffer from fire. I am now sitting in a choultry more than half unroofed by fire. The few tiles that remain shelter me from the transient glimpses of the sun, but not from the light

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showers which the strong wind which blows night and day at this season of the year is driving over my head in quick succession from the skirts of the Malabar monsoon. I have been forced to put this letter in my table several times since I began writing, to save it from the rain; my tent is a mile or two behind; because being wet it is so heavy, that the bullocks can hardly bring it on; and I thought the best way I could pass my time till it came up, would be in giving you some account of my situation and prospects.

Captain Munro reached Cundapore, the principal station in his collectorate, about a month after the date of the preceding letter. It was here announced to him, that two assistants would be allowed, in the persons of Mr. Alexander Read, the nephew of his friend Colonel Read, and another individual, in whose experience the Board was inclined to repose great confidence, inasmuch as he had resided many years as a free merchant both in Malabar and Canara. With Mr. Read's appointment Captain Munro was exceedingly well pleased: he was young, active, and intelligent; but the free merchant being considerably senior to Captain Munro himself, the latter remonstrated strongly against the arrangement made for him. The following, addressed to Mr. Read, expresses the writer's sentiments so fully, and gives a description so vivid of the state of the country, that I insert it.

July 1799.

DEAR READ,

I AM happy on my own account, but very sorry on yours, for your removal. You leave a pleasant situation and a delightful country, where peace and order are established, to come to an unpromising land, inhabited by a race more wild than any of your Mulliulies.* As to the revenue, I expect to get none of last year's balances,—for Tippoo's servants have had time enough to go off with the whole; nor do I expect one-half of the rent of the ensuing year,—for the southern half of the country was completely ravaged by the Coorg people, who carried into bondage some thousands of the inhabitants; and also by the Nairs of Malabar, who slaughtered man, woman, and child. Tippoo's

* A race of hill-people.

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troops are still in possession of all the forts of any consequence; and Dhondagee's* troops are now below the Ghauts ravaging the centre and northern districts to the sea; so that in fact nothing is our own but a few talooks near our military posts, and no amils can be sent any where else. Amidst all these troubles, the rayets are driven from one place to another, the lands remain uncultivated, and the season is almost over for sowing paddy, from which almost the whole revenue of this country is derived. I would not advise you on any account to come here before October: there can be nothing for you to do at an earlier period; for there is not employment for myself, from the difficulties of getting together the rayets, &c.

No great while after the receipt of the above, Mr. Read heard of the objections urged by Captain Munro to the employment, at least, in Canara, of the gentleman originally selected as his colleague. This, with certain grave insinuations touching the extreme particularity of the collector's temper, induced Mr. Read to enter with him into a sort of expostulatory correspondence, which drew from Captain Munro not an explanation, but the following laconic and humorous billet.

October, 1799.

DEAR READ,

I do not remember writing any thing to Government about assistants, except that they would send me no more grown-up men of fifty. I know you are considerably under that age, and I believe Mr. Rice to be equally young.† You are, in short, every way to my liking; and as for your revenue abilities, I never doubted them; but as in the unsettled state of Canara they can be of no immediate use to Government, I'll thank you to exert them, in the mean while, in bringing on a good cook with you.

Besides the causes of regret detailed above, a circumstance occurred, which had, at least, no tendency to reconcile Major Munro to his change of residence. Hitherto the military

* This was the chieftain who made his escape on the taking of Seringapatam, and rallied Tippoo's troops, and other adventurers, under his own standard.

† Mr. Rice was a very promising young man, who died on his way to join Major Munro.

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collectors had enjoyed a considerable advantage over the civilians, by being permitted to retain the full amount of their professional pay, in addition to the ordinary allowances of revenue servants: it was determined at this critical juncture to place the two classes more upon an equality, by limiting the per centage on collections granted to the former. Now, though the disposition of Major Munro was the reverse of avaricious, it would have been altogether unnatural had he failed to discover in the new arrangement fresh reasons of discontent. He accordingly remonstrated against it; and as he addressed himself among others to Colonel Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, the following correspondence took place:—

MAJOR MUNRO TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Curreshwall, August 17th, 1799.

DEAR COLONEL,

WHEN I wrote to you last month, it was on the report that Government intended limiting us to the usual allowances of collectors. Had I known that it had actually been ordered, I should have said nothing of the matter. I am afraid we have very little chance of making any thing of our old claim for past services in the Baramahl. We never considered ourselves there as ordinary assistants, but rather as collectors under a superintendant; and having the entire management of our respective divisions, the charge of the settlements and collections, and also of the survey of them, we did not think that two per cent. among three of us was an allowance adequate to the situations of labour and responsibility in which we were placed. We, therefore, solicited an increase: the Revenue Board answered, that they would recommend us to the notice of Government, whenever the Lease Settlement should be finished. This Settlement was done in 1796; but a change having been made in the original system by Colonel Read, various alterations followed, and he had made no final report to the Board when the late war began, so that they may fairly say it is time enough to speak in our favour when that report shall be laid before them. We certainly did not think that we were to expect nothing till the appearance of a Report, which a variety of circumstances might, perhaps, prevent from ever being finished. But then there are two parties to this case. We put our own construction on the letter of the

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Board, and they put theirs; and it must be confessed, that there is nothing specific in the words of it. It is not like a bond, which a man may take in his hand, and boldly demand payment: I must, therefore, I believe, after having been twenty years in India, and toiled seven years in the Baramahl, relinquish all thoughts of any reward for the past, because the period at which the Revenue Board supposes we become entitled to consideration, does not commence till Colonel Read gives in his final Report. I have no objections to forget all that is past, if I am only permitted to return in July at the end of the Revenue-year, after having settled Canara, to my old division in the Baramahl. I wrote to Mr. Wellesley fully on this point, but as my letters may have been too late, I must now take the liberty of requesting your assistance in bringing it about. You know very well that I long hesitated about coming here; I felt a great reluctance to quit the part of India in which I resided so long, to go and form new acquaintances in a country where I was an utter stranger, and where, being considered as an intruder, I was more likely to meet with secret opposition than with co-operation. But as I thought there was a chance that I should be placed on such allowances in Canara as would enable me, in two or three years, to pay a visit to Europe in order to recruit my Baramahl constitution, and as I thought, perhaps unjustly, that ——— was not equal to the settlement of a new country, I proposed myself again to the Commissioners, after having before declined the appointment. It appears now that I was too sanguine in my expectations of allowances, but I am not sorry for it, for I would not wish to remain in Canara longer than to make the first settlement of it, on any allowances whatever. I would not stay three years in such a country of eternal rains, where a man is boiled one half the year and roasted the other, were it given to me in Jagheer. After the first settlement is finished, and the revenues of the first year collected, all which will be done by the end of the *Fusly*, or Revenue-year, on the 11th of July, the country may afterwards be easily managed by any body. It is therefore my earnest wish to be then permitted to return to my former station in the Baramahl; that is to say, to be re-appointed to my old division, with such portion of the conquered territories as would have been annexed to it, had I returned directly from Seringapatam. This is surely no great request; it is only putting me where I ought to have been, with this difference, that by my coming here, Canara, instead of being left in confusion by

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——— in January, will be left settled in July. Government will have gained something—I shall have got nothing but the expense of the journey. I never had an idea of passing my days on the Malabar coast, where I am entirely cut off from the great scene of Indian war and politics; let me get back to the Baramahl, and now that Read is off, I shall be ready to follow you with Brinjarries next war, which I trust is not many years distant. The Mahrattas will not be quiet, and events, stronger than all our moderation, will drive us on the Kistna. I shall hope that you will again take the field in my favour, and get me out of this; but the resolution of Government to this effect should only be communicated to me, as making it public would probably impede my settlement here. Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

I have it from Macleod himself, that he will be very happy to give me up half his present collection. He can easily make the settlement, for the present, of all the additional territory he has got; but it is too extensive for one man to manage hereafter in the correct way that is necessary, so that my return, so far from opposing his views, will be conferring a favour upon him.

COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp, September 1st, 1799.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 17th of August. I long ago took the field, in alliance with my brother Henry, in favour of the military collectors. I gave him a very particular memorandum upon the subject, which I know he showed to the Governor-General.

He is gone to England; and I don't know what is the consequence. I have however written about it again this day. In my opinion, the Revenue Board are against you, which is the reason that Government are not so liberal towards you as you have a right to expect.

I wish that you would write me something, particularly respecting your own situation in an unhealthy climate, having been promised a reward for your services in the Baramahl, which you have never received, &c. &c. which I can show to my brother. Such a paper is more likely to have a good effect than any thing I can say upon the subject. Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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The following from Captain, now Sir John Malcolm, relates to the same question, and touches also upon the avowed reluctance of his correspondent to assume the charge imposed upon him.

19th September, 1799.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I RECEIVED yours of the 9th and 21st ultimo some days ago, and would have written sooner, but waited to learn the sentiments of your friends at Madras, on the subject of your letters.

You will learn from their answers to what you have written, that they are anxious for your being more reconciled to the regions of Canara. Perhaps, in forming this wish, they blend a good deal of public with some private feeling. It is your fault for recommending yourself to men who continue to cherish ridiculous ideas about the good of the state.

You know how desirous I am that we should ascend the Ghauts *in our proper character* in your quarter; and I am convinced you will ere long feel the necessity of that step. This I have endeavoured to impress as much as possible on Kirkpatrick; and hence, at the same time, pointed out how conveniently you could *ascend* during the rains; but I have no doubt your deeds will speak more forcibly than any words can to this point.

I could gain no information about what per centage you were to have. I certainly think you had good reason to hope, that an allowance equal to theirs would be recommended for at least a given number of years.

I hope a farther acquaintance with *your charge* will reconcile you more, and that that disgust which you have conceived for the fair *Canara,* after seeing her in a dragged, dabbled suit, may be removed when she appears, as she will soon, clothed in her summer dress, exhibiting her luring charms.

I have not the treaties, or would send them.

Thus far on my way to Persia. Direct to Bombay, where you shall hear from. Yours ever,

JOHN MALCOLM.

I add to this a letter from Colonel Wellesley, likewise referring to the state of Captain Munro's feelings. It is no less honourable to the heart of the writer, than illustrative of the estimation in which the subject of this memoir was held by those best qualified to judge of his merits.

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Camp, in the province of Loo,
October 8th, 1799.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter, and as I had some hand in sending you to Canara, I am much concerned that your situation there is so uncomfortable to yourself. It is one of the extraordinary and unaccountable circumstances attending the commission at Seringapatam, that my brother and I should have imagined that you were desirous of being appointed collector of Canara; that we should have been seriously angry with Kirkpatrick, who, it appeared, had proposed an arrangement for you, of which you did not approve, and which had occasioned your refusal of the appointment for which you wished; and yet that, after all, we should have done you an injury, instead of a benefit, (as well as one to the service,) which we intended. I acknowledge, that knowing my own wishes in your favour, and being very sensible of my brother's, I cannot but attribute what has happened to yourself. One word from you would have stopped the arrangement; and there is every reason to believe that a provision would have been made for you elsewhere. It is perhaps not now too late. I have written to my brother upon the subject; and I hope that he will make an arrangement suitable to your wishes. Whether he does or not, I hope that you will believe that your cause has not failed for want of zeal on my part.

This country, into which I have come to visit my posts on the Mahratta frontiers, is worse than that which you curse daily. It is literally not worth fighting for. Hereafter, it will be necessary to communicate with it from Canara; and I have desired the Amildar to make a good road from Soopah towards your borders. I am told that Sedashagur is not more than sixty miles by the road from Soopah (my most western post); that in the war of 1780, a detachment of Matthews's army advanced upon Soopah by that road. I wish that you would desire one of your people to communicate with the Amildar of Soondah respecting this road, and that you would have a good one made from Sedashagur to meet it.

The drubbing that we gave to the Mahrattas lately, has had the best effects; and although all the robbers are in motion to cut each other's throats, they treated us with the utmost hospitality, and have sent back our people whom they had driven away.

Believe me ever yours, most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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MAJOR MUNRO TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Woorpi, Nov. 12th, 1799.

DEAR COLONEL,

It is now a long time since I received your friendly answer to my complaints against Canara; I did not mean to arraign any one but myself, or my evil destiny, which has given this country more hills, and jungles, and rivers than I like, and has made it much wetter and hotter than it ought to be. I am sensible enough that coming here was an act of my own, but it could not well be avoided; I had been named along with ——; I doubted much his ability to ascertain the revenue, but when he declared his intention of going home in January, there was no room left for doubting, I was certain that he must leave the country unsettled, and under such circumstances it would have been improper not to have volunteered the business; not to have done it, would have been testifying an indifference for the public service, and might have had the appearance of my not feeling sufficiently the honour that was done me in originally nominating me along with ——: I do not therefore at all regret coming here to make a settlement of the revenue. All that I wish is, that when it appears that this settlement is completed, I may be removed and appointed collector of half Macleod's collectorate, either that which lies to the north or the south of the Cavery, for either of them is large enough for one man; you must help me to this by and by.

By your description, Soondah makes a great accession to the jungles, from which I am doomed to extort revenue. The map is very satisfactory, and is entirely new to our geography; but I wish you would give me the latitude and longitude of Soondah or Soopah, or any one place, in order to connect it with a sketch of Canara, on which Captain Moncrief is now employed. I wish means could be fallen upon to keep him here until he finishes his map, and repairs the roads, not forgetting the one you propose to Sedashagur from Soopah. Three months would be sufficient for the whole. Macauly wrote me long ago that the Soondah Rajah was in camp; I have not heard what you have done with him since; I hope you have taken care that he shall not disturb the country in future.

Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

Having thus explained the nature of the circumstances which placed the province of Canara under the care of Cap-

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tain Munro, little remains except to commit to himself the task of describing the manner of his life whilst in office, the numerous and serious difficulties which met him at every step, and the means which he adopted to overcome them. It is necessary, indeed, to premise, that though of the following selection of letters the greater proportion discuss matters of business, they contain none of the dry and uninteresting details which usually fill up an official correspondence; but illustrate, in striking and forcible terms, the condition of the country, with the customs, habits, and even history of the people. The individual, likewise, to whom most of them are addressed, Mr. Thomas Cockburn, was one of those functionaries whose public and private career fully entitled him to the esteem and confidence of all good men. Though educated in the civil department, and then filling a high station at the Board of Revenue, he harboured none of that paltry jealousy of military persons, concerning which notice has been taken. On the contrary, both here and elsewhere, in Baramahl, Canara, and afterwards in the Ceded Districts, he afforded to Captain Munro an unceasing and efficient support, which, it is but fair to add, the latter shared in common with every public servant whose zeal in the discharge of his duties was apparent. But it is needless to say more. The tone of Captain Munro's letters, indeed, will make manifest how little of official formality was recognized by either party; and how perfectly the member of the Revenue Board was disposed to second the collector, in all his efforts to advance the welfare of the province.

Huldipore, 20th December, 1799.

MY DEAR COCKBURN,

The letter you wrote me by poor young Rice was brought to Cundapore a few days ago by Mr. Read. You have contrived to crowd a great number of opinions and questions into a very small space; and I mean, when more at leisure, to endeavour to answer them as well as I can. Though I talk of being busy, I don't pretend that I am doing much, but that I meet

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with a great deal of trouble in doing little,—for, besides the confusion and disorder kept up by our not being complete masters of the country till October, and by the open and secret opposition of a tribe of Rajahs and their adherents, the rayets themselves are a most unruly and turbulent race. This however, without ascribing to them any naturally bad disposition, may be easily accounted for when we know, that they have twice lost the advantageous tenures by which they held their lands—once by Hyder's conquest, and now by that of the Company. Before they fell under the Mysore Government, their land-tax was probably as light as that of most countries in Europe. When Tippoo's finances became totally deranged about four years ago, when he did not receive fifty per cent. of his revenue, they joined the Sirkar servants in plundering, and recovered in some measure their lost rights, by being permitted to withhold twenty and twenty-five per cent. of their rents.* On my arrival, they wanted not only to keep what they had got, but also to get more; while I was resolved, after making allowance for the desolation of two wars, to bring the revenue back to what it had been in 1789, the last year of any regular government in Tippoo's reign, and then to leave it to Government to relinquish as much of it as they might think fit. As soon as they discovered my intention, they entered into combinations to bring me to terms. These sort of combinations had been very general under the weak and profligate set of rulers they had had since 1792. They were even encouraged, because men in office always contrived to receive something for settling them; and the inhabitants too gained their ends, in some measure, by obtaining a remission of rent on account of the loss they were supposed to have sustained from the neglect of cultivation during their temporary insurrection. They sent me proposals from all quarters, demanding, in general, a rêmission of all additional assessments since the conquest of Hyder, as the only condition on which they would agree to enter into any discussion about a settlement. I of course rejected all preliminaries but such as I might think it necessary, upon examination, to prescribe to myself. This was considered by them as a declaration of war, and they lost no time in taking the field; that is to say, they refused to come to the cutcherry. They absconded when peons were sent for them. They almost starved

* The land-tax due to Government is here meant; not the landlord's rent, as the English reader might suppose.

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some of the amildars I had detached, by preventing them from getting fire and water; and whenever I approached a village, the inhabitants went off to another, so that I was sometimes several weeks in a district without seeing one of them. Reports had been circulated among them, that the country was soon to be placed under the Bombay Government; and they therefore hoped, that by keeping aloof for a time they would either see me removed, or constrain me to submit, lest the season should pass away before I could make a settlement. Perseverance on my part, however, at last brought over some deserters; and by talking to them, as your friend Cleveland* would probably have done, they brought over more; and I am now getting on as well as I can expect; but they are such a different kind of people to any rayets to the eastward of the Ghauts, that I have still but very little confidence in their engagements, and am very far from being satisfied that they will perform them; and I can hardly venture to say that I shall come within ten per cent. of the settlement: six months will however decide the question. A great deal of this is owing to their obstinacy; for if, instead of rising in a mass like Frenchmen, and sending in memorials about privileges, they had spent the time in the cutcherry, in discussing the state of cultivation in their different villages, the settlement would have been much more accurate than it is—easier for them to pay, and for me to realize. One of the chief obstacles to my progress is the difficulty of procuring men qualified to act in the revenue line: few of the natives of Canara are fit, because they have had no experience, having scarcely ever been employed either by Hyder or Tippoo: all business therefore has been carried on by people from Mysore; but they have for some years past been accustomed to such unlimited peculation, that it would be madness to trust them; and as this is a country to which revenue Bramins seldom resort without a previous engagement, I have no choice, but am obliged to take such as I can get. It cannot be supposed that I yet know much of the state of landed property. I have seen enough, however, to convince me that it is very different in different parts of the country. Whole villages have in some places been abandoned by the owners from the ex-

* This gentleman was a very able Bengal civilian, who civilized a wild and unruly hill-people in one of the provinces under that Government, and won their hearts by much the same kind of treatment which Sir Thomas Munro was in the habit of exercising in other quarters.

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orbitance of the assessment;* in others, they are barely able to keep their ground and subsist; and in others the rent is so moderate, that the lands are saleable. Wherever this is the case, the owners are a bold, sturdy set of fellows, and would spurn at your plan of being made dependent on any mesne lord. It is not always easy, therefore, to distinguish who is the immediate cultivator and who is not. A man who, with a pair of half-starved bullocks, cultivates two or three acres, and has no other means of subsistence, is a labourer and an immediate cultivator; but a man who has five hundred acres, and subrents four hundred and fifty, can hardly be called an immediate cultivator, even though on the other fifty, which he keeps in his own hands, he should sometimes guide the plough, rather from simplicity of manners, and an honourable habit of industry, than from necessity. But my letter gets long, and this is an endless subject; so let me answer one or two of your questions. Canara produces nothing but rice and cocoa-nuts; its dry lands are totally unproductive; so that the little wheat, or other dry grain, that is raised, is sown in the paddy fields, where the water has been insufficient for rice. It produces hardly any pepper. The sandal-wood and pepper for exportation come all from Nuggar and Soondah. The soil is perhaps the poorest in India. The eternal rains have long ago washed away the rich parts, if ever it had any, and left nothing but sand and gravel. One crop under a tank, in Mysore or the Carnatic, yields more than three here. All the necessaries of life are extravagantly dear: rice is double the price it is above the Ghauts; cloth is twice or thrice as much, and ghee, tamarinds, &c. five or six times; so that it will be impossible to get cutcherry-servants here at the same rate as above the Ghauts. There are no manufactures. The inhabitants are all either farmers, fishermen, or bazaarmen. The Company can therefore have no investment of cloths; and if they want pepper, I hope they will purchase it in the market, and not harass the people, and impede the cultivation of it, by absurd monopolies. The face of the country is rude and savage beyond description. You are a traveller, and have seen the Raycottah Pass; a few deep water-courses thrown into the narrow valleys about it, would give you some faint idea of what are called the Plains of Canara. As far as I can guess by the eye, not one-twentieth part of the country is cultivated; and if you want to cross it in

* Another term for what might more appropriately be called land-tax.

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any direction, except in the few places where roads have been made at a great labour, you must walk, for it is too rugged for riding. As to the table-land you talk of, what I have got is a narrow, jungly stripe, along the head of the Ghauts, upon which the clouds breaking, pour down more water than in the low country. Had we extended ourselves to Harponhilly, I might have kept the field in my tent there during the rainy season, when there was nothing to be done here, and returned again upon the breaking up of the monsoon; but now I have nothing for it, but to shut myself up during five months at Bussoor, or, according to the maps, Barcelore, and not see a single soul but an assistant: the other six or seven months, I must go my rounds from Mount Delly to the neighbourhood of Durwar; and through all this wild tract I shall scarcely meet with an European, except in the three or four weeks that I must spend at Mangalore. What a vain, unprofitable life I lead! Had I remained in the Baramahl, I should have found leisure for many other pursuits, as well as revenue; but here all is new: it is like labouring for ever at the rudiments of a strange language. Whenever I have leisure to think at all, I wish myself any where else but here. I doubt much, even if I had the means of returning to Europe, whether I could settle there after so long a residence in India: but, at any rate, I am convinced that lingering out the dregs of life there can never compensate the consuming the best of my days in solitude on the Malabar coast. I admire your recommending me to change my situation frequently, and take care of my health. I change my situation every week,—but the sun follows me; and no constitution can, for a length of years, resist his attacks in a tent: and I find that through the small tents, the only ones that can be carried in this country, his rays are whitening my aged locks very fast.

One of the many evils of being out of society is the want of books; so that I am ignorant of what is doing in the world; and I have nothing to offer upon any subject, but my own solitary ideas, unimproved by the consideration of those of other men.

Sarsi, 28th February, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

1st March.—I attempted to write this letter yesterday, but was obliged to give it up, and attend debates on settlements, thieves, &c. Except a fortnight spent at Mangalore in October, I have not been more than a week in any place since July. It is

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on marching days, however, that I have most leisure; for, by starting early, I get to my ground several hours before the cutcherry or inhabitants come up; and if I halt at a deserted village, of which there are plenty in this country, I probably get the greatest part of the day to myself, and can write a letter; but if I stop near a village, I am instantly surrounded by the inhabitants, with all their stories of grievances against my amildars, their losses by the enemy, &c. Many of these matters are of themselves of little consequence; but still, among a new people, who are strangers to us, it is necessary I should hear them all. It is by giving a great deal of my time to this at first, that I shall save time hereafter; for by getting acquainted with me, they know that the amildars, and all other revenue people, are merely servants, who have no right to oppress them, or to demand any thing but the Sircar rent.

No man, who has not seen Canara and Soondah, can have the least idea of the endless vexatious interruptions the nature of the climate, of the country, and of the people oppose to the progress of revenue settlements. From the beginning of June to the end of October, the proper season for settlements, there is no certainty of a fair day. No wheel-carriage can be used, not even a buffalo bandy; in many of the inland cross-roads, bullocks cannot travel loaded; and tents must be carried by coolies. My cutcherry-tent stands pitched at Busroor, where I first got it. I could only bring with me two very small captain's marquees, and three private tents. How, you will ask, does your army move? It usually sends its tents by sea, marches along the coast, and occupies the houses of the inhabitants. If it moves inland, as it did to Jumalabad, it marches parallel to the course of the rivers, and probably only crosses one. The large tents are then carried on elephants; but an elephant would not answer my purpose, because I never move without crossing a river, and often two or three. The business of loading and unloading him would take up the whole day. Even with bullocks, the business of swimming them over takes up so much time, that I am always obliged to wait an hour or two for my tent, the same as if I was in camp. It cannot be sent on the night before, because it is both difficult and dangerous, in small canoes, to pass rivers in the dark, towing cattle alongside. If I send it on the day before, I lose the use of it for my cutcherry people. This want of tents obliged me to leave all my writers behind, so that I am compelled to copy all my own letters. Besides public, I have had a great deal of

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troublesome private correspondence. There were at one time about fourteen military stations in my collectorate; and there was hardly a commandant of one of them who did not attempt to establish what he called a police, and force me to write to him. Matters were scarcely settled, before a successor came, and then the same ground was to be gone over again. Colonel Mignan is the fifth commandant I have had to correspond with in Canara: had my rank entitled me to the military command, it would have greatly facilitated my operations. Peons, on account of the rivers, and also the number of thieves, travel only in the day, and not more than twelve or fourteen miles on an average. They seldom come in less than fifteen days from Mangalore. The Tappal does not go thirty miles a-day; and letters by it, though they are sometimes more expeditious than peons, are sometimes again much longer in reaching, either from mistakes in the department, or from my being out of the road, and the people missing me. My correspondence with the more distant districts is much more tedious than that between Madras and Bengal. It would be much easier for me to manage all the countries between the Kistna and the Colleroon, than this collectorate. You must not therefore be surprised, that the first settlement of it should take me till April. You cannot imagine that it is my wish to keep the field in a small tent, during the hottest months of the year. I have been labouring hard for several months in quest of all old accounts that could throw any light on the former state of the revenue. They are imperfect; but, such as they are, I shall, whenever I can get leisure, make a table of them, and tack it to my Jummabundy, and you will then see the revenue as it stood under the Rajahs of Biddenore, Hyder, and Tippoo. I see plainly that there never will be the least chance of my being able to give you the full and minute details on all revenue matters you were accustomed to receive from Read. He has, I am afraid, spoiled you all; and nothing that is not equally copious, will go down with you. In April, when I hope to have finished the settlements, I do not expect to be able to say much about them; for I must first settle with three troublesome fellows of Rajahs, who are now interrupting the collections.

Your friend Colebrook, who accompanied Colonel Wellesley through Soondah, will have told you what kind of a country it is. Wild as it is, however, I prefer it much to Canara; for though it is all jungle, it is not, like it, full of rocks and rivers.

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I would be very happy to get away from this on any terms. I should be perfectly indifferent on the subject of allowances, could any arrangement be made to place me in Mysore, the Baramahl, or Carnatic. I wrote to you on this subject before, and shall trust to being assisted by you whenever there is an opening.

I wish you would give me a few hints about the etiquette of writing. I shall in a few days write a short letter to the Board, requesting they will allow me to compound a few thousand pagodas' worth of pepper, received in kind, for money. The object is trifling; and it is an indulgence the circumstances of the pepper planters stand very much in need of. There ought to be no Company's pepper but what is fairly purchased by their agents. After the zealous support you gave the weavers against ———'s violence, I have no doubt of your favouring this measure.

Yours truly,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Cockburn says: "I regret your situation should be so extremely irksome; the more so, as any attempt to procure your removal would be considered *treason* to the state. Such is the estimation of your services, that no one is deemed equal to the performance of the difficult task you are engaged in; and though I can consider no reward adequate to the sacrifice you make, yet I trust you will be able to overcome your difficulties, and that Government will do you ample justice when you have brought the country into some degree of arrangement."

TO HIS BROTHER.

Cundapore, 28th May, 1800.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

FROM your long silence, I would almost suppose you to be as busy as myself, were it possible that any private business could demand so much of a man's time as the settling of two provinces, with Dhondagee's followers plundering the one, and a Civil war in the other.

5th June.—I had hardly begun when I was interrupted. The new countries we have got by the conquest of Mysore are close upon very bad neighbours. Savenoor and Dharwar, which run along our frontier, belong to the Peishwah, and Appah Saheb, the son of Parseram Bhow; but neither of them has much autho-

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rity. Their deputies plunder each other, and are seldom able to enforce the collections of their respective districts, which are full of a rebellious, or rather a thieving set of petty zemindars; and mixed with them is a fellow called Dhondagee, who was released from irons in Seringapatam, in the confusion of the storm, and who has got together a rabble of twenty thousand horse and foot, with which force he acts nominally for the Peishwah, but more for himself than any body else. We have taken an alarm without much foundation. I think that he is secretly supported by the Mahrattas, and has hostile designs against us; and Colonel Wellesley has marched towards the Toombuddra with what troops could be drawn together in Mysore, to watch his motions. I do not however imagine that he will venture to meddle with us; for he could get nothing by it, and might ruin himself. Some parties, in his name, have entered Soondah, and taken one or two mud-forts; but they are most likely freebooters, over whom he has no control. These depredations give us good ground for insisting on the Mahrattas keeping him in better order, and, if they do not, for our taking possession of Savenoor and Dharwar for our security, and driving him and them across the Kistna. But I suspect we shall be like the Spaniards,—keep our tempers till we have got what is reckoned a sufficient diplomatic quantity of provocation, and lose the present moment, so favourable to us when the Nizam is with us, the Mahrattas weak and divided, and no French in India. We may display our moderation for a time; but circumstances will force us to the Kistna; for it is impossible we can ever remain quiet with such a scattered frontier and such a disorderly neighbour. In Canara we have let a couple of hundred thieves, belonging to Kisnam Naigur, a poligar, surprise Jumalabad, a hill-fort stronger than Savendroog, or any other I have ever seen. We have likewise got a fellow who styles himself the Rajah of Vittel, in arms. So, between these civil wars, and the settlement of a new country, I have more work than I can well get through, and writing enough to make me blind. This is so much the case already, that I grudge the time my eyes are employed about this letter. I have no accounts from home since I wrote to you last. I hope you have a good Indigo crop; and I shall be happy to hear that your calculations respecting the home-market are just. You must not flatter yourself with a peace on the Continent. It will probably all end in the restoration of monarchy in France, after the coxcombs have tried in vain to make some of their own absurd creations answer the pur-

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poses of government. Buonaparte, you see, is capetising them; though a Scottish minister, according to a newspaper I saw some time ago, had, in the spirit of prophecy, when he thought he was sure of him, consigned him and his blasphemous host to the lice and locusts of Egypt. The frogs would have had no chance.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Cundapore, 7th June, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE to-day transmitted to the Board a report on the ancient and present state of the revenue of this country. To draw together the materials, I was forced to go through more labour among sunnuds and accounts than I ever underwent in my life before: and it is not probable that I shall ever again have leisure to go so much into any other matters connected with revenue. I got together every thing in the course of my circuit, and meant to have devoted a month after coming down the Ghauts to arranging and writing: but hearing of the affair of Jumalabad on my way back, I saw there would be no leisure or days of quiet for such an occupation; and I therefore hurried through, as well as I could, by starts, when I could get clear of mobs of rayets, from Soondah, plundered by Dhondagee, and from Canara, robbed, and their families frequently murdered by the banditti in the southern districts. You will easily see that it is only an outline, not half filled up; but, such as it is, I hope it will convey a clear idea of the land-rent of this province for some centuries back. I wished to have traced the nature of landed property in Soondah, if such property actually existed there, by a chain of sunnuds, up to the eighth century; but the sunnuds take too much time; many of them are intricate and obscure; and after translating a dozen sometimes, I meet with nothing to illustrate the object of my search. Time slips away, business accumulates, and I am in danger of neglecting the present generation, while I am attempting to ascertain whether or not their forefathers were permitted to eat a greater proportion of the produce of the land than they do. With the view of clearing away difficulties for new men, I shall exact the payment of balances more rigorously than I would have done, had I wished to take a lease of the country. This will bear hard upon some individuals; but where there has been nothing but anarchy for the last seven years,

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order can only be established by being inflexible,—indulgence can be thought of afterwards. I have pointed out what I think it ought to be; but whether a reduction of the land-rent is immediately granted or not, I hope you will give up the portion of the customs I have proposed, immediately, and let me have your orders soon enough for the news to be spread over the country in the course of next month; and also to reach the Arabian and Persian gulfs by the opening of the season. My peons in the neighbourhood of Jumalabad have defeated a party of the enemy, and taken some prisoners. In consequence of this success, the expelled amildars of Hurrup and Poottoor have again entered their districts. Another fellow in the opposite end of Canara started up, and burned some villages near Sedasiwagur; but a party of sepoys and peons routed his party; he fell himself in the pursuit. If I had had the command in Canara, it would have greatly facilitated the settlement, and possibly have prevented some of the disturbances which have since happened; but I hardly see how this can be brought about, with so many seniors to myself serving in every corps. The disturbances are not to be attributed to any disaffection in the great body of the inhabitants. The reverse is the case. There are not ten men who pay rent, in arms against us. The insurgents consist of a body of peons, sent down the Ghauts by Kisnam Naigur,—of other peons, formerly sent from Mysore to garrison the forts in Canara, by Hyder and Tippoo, who first enlisted in the Bombay army, and then deserted,—of a parcel of vagabond Moplas, who have always subsisted by thieving, and of some armed men brought from Malabar by a fellow called Vittel Hegade, an old pensioner of the Bombay Government, under which he has long acted the part of a rajah. It is he who has set up a Moorman, under the title of Futteh Hyder. I have no doubt of my peons being able, with fifty sepoys, to quell this desperate rebellion, as it is called. The enemy have no real strength, because no part of the country is for them. They have, however, contrived to establish the reign of terror, by burning the houses of some, and murdering others, who either refused to act with, or informed against them. Had I leisure to enter into such details, I could give many strong proofs of the fidelity, or loyalty, or what you please, of our new subjects. After all the alarm of general insurrection, I imagine I shall have less trouble with Futteh Hyder than with Cecil Smith.* He has called on me to send accounts current and

* The Accountant-general.

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vouchers the 3rd of every month, or else to give good reasons for not doing so. Nothing is more difficult than to find reasons that shall satisfy a man on a subject he does not understand. This third day is certainly a theme on which the auditor and I, without understanding one another, may write a great deal for what the French call public instruction. Yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

Cundapore, 13th July, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

THE Board will probably be averse to making the reductions I have proposed, till the permanent system is introduced. The benefit, however, to be derived from any system, consists chiefly in an abatement of rent; and the sooner the inhabitants experience the benefit the better. I am not, however, in a hurry, —for if Canara is not in such easy circumstances as it ought to be, it is, at least, as easy as the Baramahl. You may therefore defer till a future occasion a part, or the whole, of the proposed reduction of land-rent; but with respect to customs, unless you reduce those on rice exported to two Bahdry pagodas per corge, and abolish the inland transport duties on that article,—for there is hardly any other grain in Canara,—you will rather hurt than improve your revenue. The loss would be only temporary. Next year, or the following, the increase of the quantity exported would, I am persuaded, counterbalance the decrease occasioned by lowering the duty. I hope you will allow the reduction this year. I wait anxiously for it, in order to settle the customs for 1210, which is now begun. I am in some haste, because I suspect I shall be called, by the progress of our military operations, to Soondah; and unless I have your orders before that time, I shall be obliged to hurry through the business of customs. It will occur to you, that with two internal petty wars carrying on, I cannot possibly have time to introduce any system of great innovation. Day and night are hardly long enough to hear and answer district letters about rebels; Dhondagee's partisans enlisting men; depredations of banditti; revenue, &c. All the writing in the world will not put people right, who do not understand how to go about a thing; and my entering into explanation is too like schooling to be relished. I perceive you have puffed me off at a great rate, and given me greater than usual allowances. Salary is not so much what I want as removal. I came here because, after having been named as a person qualified to ascertain the actual revenue of the country, I could not decline the

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task, without seeming to desert my duty; but now that this is done, and that the collections, except where interrupted by invasion, are as regular as in the Baramahl, or even more so, I think my work is performed, particularly as the recovery of Jumalabad* will soon make Canara quiet. Every thing was so new, and all in such disorder on my first arrival, that the whole of the last year has been a continual struggle against time, to get forward and bring up arrears. In this one year I have gone through more work than in almost all the seven I was in the Baramahl. Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Seringapatam, March 20.

DEAR MUNRO,

SINCE Colonel Close's return to Seringapatam, I have had some conversation with him respecting the thieves in Soondah; it has appeared to him and to me, that the only mode by which you can expect to get rid of them, is to hunt them out. In the province of Budnore we employed some of the Rajah's cavalry; with the support of our infantry some thieves were caught: some of them were hanged, and some severely punished in different ways; the consequence has been, that lately that country has not been visited by them, and most probably a similar operation in Soondah would have a similar effect. I have spoken to Purneah on the subject, and I find that he can assist with about two hundred and fifty or three hundred horsemen without inconvenience; these divided into two or three small parties, supported by our infantry, would give a proper *shekar;* and I strongly advise you not to let the Mahratta boundary stop you in the pursuit of your game, when you will once have started it. Two or three fair hunts, and cutting up about half a dozen, will most probably induce the thieves to prefer some other country to Soondah as the scene of their operations. Let me hear from you upon this subject, and, if you approve of the plan, I will make all the arrangements for putting it into execution.

* One of the strongest hill-forts in India, which had been taken from us by surprise by the rebels.

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FROM THE SAME.

Seringapatam, May 7th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I AM glad to find that your people in Canara are so free from the foul crime of rebellion. We shall not be able in this year to make an impression on Kistnapah Naig, which will keep him entirely quiet; but on the 30th of last month he received a beating from Colonel Montressor, who took from him his post of Arakury, which will at least give him reason to believe that it is not easy to keep our troops out of any place into which they are ordered to enter. The entire subjection of him depends upon the destruction of his strongholds, and for that, as we cannot expect much more fair weather, we have not at present a sufficiency of time. Colonel Montressor is now gone through to the Bipolla Ghaut; but I do not expect from that, that we shall be able to re-establish the Tappal on the road; that, I am afraid, must still go round by Canara. Measures have been taken for collecting in Canara as many troops as Lieutenant-Colonel Mignan will require; one battalion must come from Goa, if he wants it, and another from Malabar. It would not do to withdraw every thing from Goa; for, in that case, how is Soondah to be assisted if it should be attacked? Not from Mysore, certainly, for we cannot get there during the rains; nor from Canara, where there are no troops, but from Goa. Soondah appears a favourite place of yours, and it is extraordinary that you should not have provided for it some way or other, and that you should not allow your Amildars to assist the paymasters in procuring provisions for the forts which are to be kept. I think, upon the whole, we are not in the most thriving condition in this country; Poligars, Nairs, and Moplas in arms on all sides of us; an army full of disaffection and discontent, amounting to Lord knows what, on the northern frontier, which increases as it advances, like a snowball in snow. To oppose this we have nothing that ought to be taken from the necessary garrisons, and the corps we have in them are incomplete in men, and without officers. If we go to war in earnest, however, (and if we take the field at all it ought to be in earnest,) I will collect every thing that can be brought together from all sides, and we ought not to quit the field as long as there is a discontented or unsubdued Poligar in the country.

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FROM THE SAME.

Seringapatam, May 10th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE again this morning received a letter from the Commanding Officer at Hullehall, stating that the paymaster's servant cannot get grain, and that he begins to feel a want in the bazaar. I acknowledge, in general, the propriety of the refusal of those charged with the Civil Government to interfere with the purchases which it may be necessary to make on account of the military; but there may be cases in which such an interference may be not only proper, but absolutely necessary. If the paymaster's servant is dishonest, it may be possible that nothing more may be required than to turn him out, and an honest servant may be able to procure all he wants, notwithstanding the neutrality of the Sircar. But it may happen, that the Sircar, or his servants, are not neuter, and that (as it is stated in this instance) the Amildar throws difficulties in the way of procuring the necessary supplies for the troops; in that case, surely the interference of the collector is necessary to check the improper conduct of his servant. As the frontier is disturbed, it may happen that the people are unwilling to part with their grain at any price; or there may be a real scarcity, which may induce the people to wish to keep it. But in either of these cases it surely is necessary that the Company's garrisons should be provided, and in order to procure a provision, the authority of the Civil Government must be exercised. There are other circumstances under which the interference of the Civil Government might be desirable in order to procure supplies; but I only allude to those which it appears have hitherto prevented us from making any store of grain in Soondah, and upon them I wish you to make inquiry, and to take such measures as you may think necessary to remedy the evil.

Government have approved of the measure of throwing grain into the garrisons in that country; they will require about one thousand loads, and all I can say upon the subject is, that if the grain is not procured, I do not conceive that I am answerable for the consequences.

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FROM THE SAME.

Seringapatam, May 17th, 1800.

MY DEAR MAJOR,

You will be glad to hear that I have called away both the battalions of native infantry from Goa, and I hope they will join the army which is forming to the northward by the end of the month.

I have attended to your suggestion regarding the interference of commanding officers of posts in the price of grain, and I have this day issued an order, of which the enclosed is a copy. An officer at Chandergooty has contrived to drive away all the bazaar people, and if I find upon inquiry that this is to be attributed to his improper interference, I will put in execution the threat contained in the order. I hear from Mr. Gordon this morning, that your Amildar in Soondah has given his servant some assistance, and the consequence is that he has got some grain. I hope the assistance given has not been to enable him to get it at a low price, but to get it at any price the Ryots may ask.

You will perceive by my letters to Colonel Mignan that I am entirely of your opinion regarding the utility of providing against disaffection at all points: we shall do well if we can provide against those places where it manifests itself by acts of violence and rebellion. I have urged Colonel Mignan to provide for a call which you may make upon him for troops, to be stationed at Vittell, and as he will not require so large a force for the blockade of Jumalabad as I expected, he will be able to furnish what you may require.

Colonel Montressor has been very successful in Bulum; has beat, burnt, plundered, and destroyed in all parts of the country. But I am still of opinion, that nothing has been done which can tend effectually to put an end to the rebellion in Bulum, and that the near approach of the rains renders it impossible to do that, which alone, in my opinion, will ever get the better of Kistnapah Naig.

It has been stated, that, in addition to the disturbances occasioned by the turbulence of certain refractory chiefs, Major Munro found himself incommoded, and the peace of his province threatened, by the warlike movements of a chief named Dhondee, oı Dhondagee Wahag. The history of that adventurer has in part been narrated by Colonel Wilks; but

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that the interesting correspondence about to be submitted to the reader's notice may be rendered in all its allusions intelligible, it may not be amiss to preface it with a brief sketch of his singular career.

Dhondee Wahag, by lineage a Mahratta, was born in the territory of Mysore, and town of Chengerry. He performed his first military service during Hyder's invasion of Coromandel, as a private horseman under Bistnoo Pundit, by whom he was accounted a brave, active, intelligent, though most dishonest soldier; but becoming weary of the restraint attendant upon regular warfare, and enriched by plunder gathered indiscriminately from friend and foe, he abandoned the Sultan's service at an early period of Lord Cornwallis's campaign. He now betook himself, with a few followers, to the neighbourhood of Dharwar, where, after the conclusion of peace, and the return of the Mahratta armies, he collected a band of freebooters, and, commencing robber by profession, levied heavy contributions upon the provinces north of the Toombuddra. Dhondee, however, was willing to cloak his marauding propensities under the show of devotion to his late master's interests. With this view he opened a negotiation with Tippoo, in which he undertook, on certain conditions, and with a little secret aid, to recover for him the whole principality of Savenoor; but before matters could be fully adjusted, his own precipitancy drew upon him the angry notice of the court of Poonah, which sent against him a considerable army, under the command of a chief named Gockla. After a protracted resistance, Dhondee was at length totally defeated, and compelled to enter, with his whole party, consisting of two hundred horse, into Tippoo's service.

This event occurred in June 1794; but his reception, though not more severe than his crimes merited, accorded well with the cruel and deceitful character of the Sultan. He was offered large preferments as the reward of his conversion to Mohammedanism; and on refusing to abandon the religion of his fathers, he was cast into prison. Finally, his

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troop, after being plundered of horses, arms, and clothing, were dismissed; he himself was forcibly circumcised, and, having narrowly escaped death by the hand of the executioner, was kept closely confined in irons till the capture of Seringapatam.

During the confusion incident upon that event, Dhondee escaped from his dungeon; and gathering round him a band of desperate men, he aspired at nothing less than the establishment of a new and formidable dynasty in the South. Had his caution been equal to his daring, though he must have doubtless failed in the end, his overthrow would have been a matter of greater difficulty than it proved to be; but by seeking, with reckless activity, to introduce anarchy even where his influence extended, he brought upon himself at once the vengeance of the British Government. The army of Mysore, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, was directed against him, and a campaign begun, which has never, as far as I know, been minutely described; but of which it may truly be said, that the operations exhibit no indistinct developement of that extraordinary genius which has since obtained for the Duke of Wellington a name second to none in military history.

Colonel Wellesley, having drawn a portion of his force together, passed the Toombuddra on the 24th of June, and advancing to Ranny Bednore, carried it by assault on the 27th. From that date up to the 2nd of July, he found ample occupation in clearing the Nugger country of Dhondee's cavalry; after accomplishing which, and receiving supplies of men and grain, he pushed for the Wirdah. The river being crossed on the 11th, a redoubt was constructed, as well for the protection of the boats as to secure the communication with the rear; when information being received that Dhondee was on the march to offer battle, Colonel Wellesley moved on the 12th, and took possession on the 14th of the town of Savenoor. Into this place he threw his baggage for safety, he himself encamping in front of it; but Dhondee,

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though he approached within two coss of the British position, and closely reconnoitred it, did not venture to attack; on the contrary, he retreated to Hangul, whither, on the 14th, Colonel Wellesley followed him; but he had evacuated it ere the columns reached their ground, and, though the town was taken by storm, Dhondee escaped.

On the 15th, Colonel Wellesley marched against Luckmashweer, which, as had been the case with Hangul, was abandoned; and on the 16th, he raised the siege of Sirholly. The 17th again was spent in retracing his steps to Savenoor; whilst on the 18th he directed the Mahratta force, stationed at Hullehall, to join him. From this date his own letters, written with the unreserved freedom of private friendship, continue the narrative of events; and as these have happily been preserved among Sir Thomas Munro's papers, I subjoin them without one word of comment or remark.

COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

(*Official.*)

Camp, left bank of the Toombuddra,
June 26th, 1800.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 22nd instant and its enclosure, and I am obliged to you for the intelligence which you give me, that a lac of Bahaudry pagodas for the use of the troops in this country, were likely to leave Cundapore on the 23rd instant. From a conversation which I had with Mr. Webbe, at Seringapatam, early in the last month, I had reason to expect that this sum would have been at Nuggur some time ago. I sent orders to the officer commanding in Soondah to drive the party which had got possession of Budnagoor out of that post. He would have done this before now, according to the former orders which his predecessors received from me, only that he has found it impossible to move even a small detachment of the troops under his orders, for want of the common assistance which the country can afford.

This, he informs me, the Amildars have refused to give, and I am waiting here at this moment for a battalion of Bombay Sepoys, which are detained at Hullehall, in Soondah, for want of a

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few bullocks, which cannot be provided without the Civil Government.

If the officer commanding in Soondah should be enabled to detach a force to get possession of Budnagoor, I do not propose to have a post there, and I conceive that it will be expedient to raise as many more Peons as you can get in Soondah. The number of troops allotted to that province by Government was one battalion, and though it is certainly much exposed, I have not means of increasing that force at present.

TO THE HON. COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 30th June, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

I AM much concerned to find that you think I have been remiss in sending the money for you. I only knew from Webbe in general terms that you were to have the surplus of this province; but when it would be wanted, or where it was to be sent, I knew nothing of. This delay is the more to be regretted, as the money might have been at Nuggur a month ago as easily as now; but it is to be recollected that I am but a collector, and have no discretionary power to judge what ought to be reserved for Canara, or what ought to be sent to you. You and Close know what troops are likely to be retained in different quarters, and how far up they ought to be paid, and are, of course, the men from whom I am to expect instructions. Had I followed my own opinion, I would have sent you two lacs instead of one; for I can do this after paying up the troops in Canara to the 1st of October. I took upon myself to remit the full amount of their pay, &c. up to the first October, above a month ago, to Mangalore, from being convinced of the propriety of Colonel Mignan having in these troublesome times a sum of money by him, to answer any unexpected call, without waiting for it in the monsoon. It is more than two months since, with the same view, I proposed officially, through Close, that the detachment at Goa should have been paid up to the same period; but Government have never yet given their answer. Had they ordered the payment, it would have obviated most of the inconveniences that have been experienced, as the different corps would have left Goa well supplied with cash. I have, on the supposition that you will call for the other lac of pagodas, ordered it to be packed up in two lots of fifty thousand each, so that the moment you

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send for half, or the whole, it shall be dispatched. If you think it should at any rate go to Nuggur to wait for an opportunity of joining you, I shall send it there. I have sent by almost every opportunity for the last fortnight, orders to the Amildar of Soopah, to pay all the money he could collect to the Paymaster-General, or the Commandant, and to assist in every way all the troops of every description. I am afraid an adherence to the letter of his orders, which mentioned the Goa troops, has prevented him from assisting as he ought to have done the Hullehall battalions since ordered to camp. I have not yet heard any particulars, but if he has acted improperly, I shall dismiss him. Unluckily, there is no being sure that Amildars will answer, until they are tried and the mischief done. He is now ordered to put himself entirely under the directions of the officer commanding, and to obey him implicitly without any reference to me.

In raising Peons and securing Soondah, the progress of your operations may probably enable me with their aid, and giving Cowle to occupy Hangul, and other districts bordering upon us. I think we can never cover ourselves with mere defensive measures. Giving Cowle to the neighbouring districts, and occupying them with Peons, is the most likely way to keep Soondah clear of inroads. Should, therefore, the weakness of the enemy enable the Amildars to extend their limits, do you approve of its being attempted? Unless it be contrary to engagements which may have been made with the Peshwah, it would, I think, be of use to your operations, by confining the resources of the enemy, and extending your own.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp, three miles south of Havery, July 3rd, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I DON'T deny that I did believe that you were not quite so ready to assist my wants as you might have been, as I understood from Mr. Webbe that you had been desired to send to Nuggur all the money which you had in your treasury, and which was not immediately wanted for other purposes; and I therefore did not think it necessary to take any further steps to procure the money, than to desire the officer in command at Nuggur to have in readiness an escort to bring it to camp. I also thought, and from the complaints which have been received, it appears to be true, that your servant in Soondah gave no assistance whatever to

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enable the battalions marching through that district to move. For want of money and every thing, one of them has not joined me yet; and from what I am going to tell you, you will perceive that it is probable that I shall not see it for some time.

Doondee has beat Goklah, and I am informed that a body of the troops of the latter fled to Hullehall with Chintamene Row, where they are at this moment. Doondee followed them, and if the battalions had not marched before the 30th of June, on which day was the action, it is probable that Doondee will have kept such a watch upon Hullehall, as to have rendered it impossible for it to march since. I have no orders to take possession of any part of the country, and I have hitherto put the Bhow's people in possession of every part that has fallen into my hands. I have done this as much because I have no troops to spare for garrisons, as because it is a most desirable and necessary thing to me, that the country on this side of the Wurdah towards the Rajah's frontier should be settled, that I may draw from it its poor resources, and have my communication with Mysore unimpeded. I enjoy all these advantages at present, and I am, therefore, desirous not to risk the loss of them even for a moment by asking you to come up to settle this country. The change of Government would, I fear, have this effect; and besides, as I already told you, I have no order to take possession of the country in any manner.

I approve of your proposal to advance your Peons to Hangul, or where else you please, when your Amildars hear that I have crossed the Wurdah. I will also apprise you when I shall have done so. It will be proper that I should tell the Bhow that I have desired them to enter the Savenoor country, and to possess themselves of the districts on the borders for the general good.

It appears to me that when they will be at Hangul, they will be able to assist me with some rice, of which I stand woefully in need; all that I have comes from the rice countries in Mysore, which are at the distance of about a month's march; and you will perceive that to bring it to me will require a tolerably large number of Brinjaries. If I could get a little at Hangul it would be a great relief. Desire your Amildars to let me know if they can give me any assistance whatever in rice? from what country it is to come? to what place I am to send for it? the distance such place may be from Savenoor? and such other information regarding it as they can afford.

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There is not a single paddy field in this whole country; but plenty of cotton-ground swamps, which in this wet weather are delightful.

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CLOSE, RESIDENT IN MYSORE.

Cundapore, July 8th, 1800.

SIR,

I AM favoured with your letter of the 1st instant. I have frequently heard of late, with much concern, that the troops in Soondah have experienced great difficulties, notwithstanding my having used every means that occurred to me as the most likely either to obviate or remove them. The great distance of Hullehall, the interruption of the Tappals by the incursion of the enemy into Soondah, and the slowness of the communication by Peons, have prevented me from ascertaining how far they may be owing to unavoidable accidents, to want of exertion in the Amildars, or to mistakes of my own. I shall state, for your information, what has been done, and the reasons upon which I acted.

On the 26th of April last I received a letter from Mr. Gordon, dated the 18th of that month, advising me that he wanted star pagodas five thousand at Hullehall, and that the provision department would require between two and three thousand more. I immediately dispatched seven thousand bahadrie pagodas, which were paid into his office at Hullehall on the 11th of May. As his letter had stated that "there was not remaining in the cash chest, then *quite sufficient* for the 1st of May abstract," I suppose that the sum in it was nearly sufficient, and that therefore the supply which had been sent, after allowing for the store department, would be sufficient, or nearly sufficient, for the June abstract: in which case the garrison would want no pay till July, and at all events, as they were paid in the middle of May, that they could be in no great want till the middle of June.

The first intimation that I had respecting the march of the troops from Goa, through Soondah, was from Mr. Uhchoff. On the 22nd of May he mentioned, in general terms, that they would require assistance in money and carriage. Money from Canara could not have been forwarded so as to reach the corps in time; but there was enough in Soondah, for the Amildar of that district had in his hands five thousand pagodas, and the Amildar of Soopah two thousand. I therefore wrote immediately to both the Amildars on the 22nd of May, directing them to give the necessary assistance to the corps on the march through their

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respective districts. I directed the Amildar of Soopah to hire two hundred bullocks, and to advance whatever money was wanted; and if his own funds were not sufficient, to draw for three or four thousand pagodas on the Amildar of Soondah, who was at the same time ordered to comply with whatever demand he might make. The letter to the Amildar of Soopah was written in duplicate; one copy went by the Tappal, and the other was forwarded by two Peons. The letter by Tappal, instead of going on to Hullehall, was, by some accident or other, returned from Nuggur; that by the Peons reached Soopah on the 4th of June, on which day the Amildar acknowledges the receipt of it, mentions that the battalion had passed a few days before, and that it was assisted with rice and coolies. The Amildar of Soondah, in a letter of the 8th of June, says that he had supplied it with one hundred coolies and fifty bullocks.

The Amildar of Soopah again wrote to me on the 6th of June, that another battalion had arrived; that he had communicated to the officer commanding his orders to furnish him with money; that he had also communicated them to the Paymaster's servant, but that the officer had only taken up the two hundred pagodas, for which he had passed a receipt to him, in the name of the Paymaster's servant: had he called for two thousand, it would have been as readily granted.

The Amildar of Soondah, in a letter of the 16th of June, states, that he had been cautioned by the Amildar of Soopah to provide a hundred bullocks for this second corps; but that, after advancing as far as Burtanhilly, between Jelapore and Soondah, it had suddenly returned to Hullehall. My latest letter from him is dated the 22nd of June, mentioning that he had supplied the Amildar of Soopah with five hundred pagodas.

I cannot account for the commanding officer of the 24th having demanded only two hundred pagodas of the Amildar of Soopah, when his demand for any sum would have been complied with, or for his not repeating his demand, unless it may have been that he supposed that his corps was included in the refusal of the Amildars to advance cash to the garrison. It appears from the Amildar's letter of the 6th of June, that the officer commanding the garrison had called upon him for a supply of cash, which he declined giving, on the ground of such advances never having been made, except in consequence of an order on him in favour of the Paymaster's agent, from me; and of his instructions in the present instance having been confined to the battalion from Goa.

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I must confess that this was a difficulty which I did not foresee; for I never suspected that the garrison which had been paid in the middle of May, could be in distress on the 5th of June. I, however, immediately wrote to the Amildar, directing him to answer, without distinction, all demands made upon him by any servant of the Company. I had the preceding day dispatched five thousand pagodas direct to the officer commanding Hullehall: two thousand four hundred pagodas have, in addition, by this time gone on from Ankalah, and nine thousand more will be forwarded from hence to-morrow morning.

By Mr. Uhchoff's report, it seems to have been an opinion formed by the troops in Soondah, that there was a monopoly of the rice in that quarter: this idea was natural enough among men from the Low Country, where they had seen it at half the price. There is, however, no monopoly; rice is always scarce and dear in Soondah from natural causes: there is very little land in cultivation, and the produce is far short of the consumption of even the thin population of the country; the deficiency must, therefore, be brought, at a great expense, from below the Ghauts. Rice bought on the sea-coast, at twenty-five sears the rupee, after paying bullock hire and customs, cannot be sold in Soondah under twelve sears the rupee. Eleven and twelve sears was the price from January to April in every part of the country, from Jelapore to Belghie, and this too in all the small villages, where there was not a single sepoy.

Soondah produces no carriage cattle: the numerous droves seen there during the dry season come from the Mahratta country for pepper and betel-nut, and go off when the rains set in, except a few, the private property of merchants at Jelapore and Sersey, which remain tied up in their houses during the rains; there may be also a few with bazaarmen at Hullehall. These were the only means the Amildar had of supplying the detachment; though they were small, they were, no doubt, sufficient to have furnished two hundred bullocks, which I directed him to provide.

I had reason to believe that the battalion from Goa would only be a few days in Soondah: money from this could not have reached Hullehall in less than twelve days, and would, of course, have been too late.

I was not certain that the battalion would not turn off before reaching Hullehall, but I was certain that they must either march by Sersey or Budnagore. I therefore directed the Amildar of Soondah to remain at Sersey, and to disburse the five thou-

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sand pagodas in his hands either to the troops on their arrival, or the orders of the Amildar of Soopah. By waiting too long in expectation of the 2nd 4th batt. coming on, he was surprised and made prisoner on the night of the 22nd of June. It might have been supposed that the equipment which had enabled the 2nd 4th to march from Goa to Jelapore, and back to Hullehall, would have enabled the 1st 4th, with a very little assistance from the Amildar, to move, though far from being properly equipped, yet sufficiently so to have made it possible for it to have reached the army. I have to regret that, amidst all the difficulties and disappointments which have occurred, none of the officers ever once wrote to me. The first notice I had that matters were not going right was, as I have already mentioned, from the Amildar himself, on the 21st ultimo. When it is considered that the passage of the Tappals has frequently been interrupted in the course of the last six weeks, and that the answer to a letter sent from Hullehall by a common Peon, cannot reach that place in less than twenty-two, or sometimes, in the rains, twenty-eight days, it will readily be perceived how much time must be lost in rectifying any point that requires a reference. My presence was necessary here to take measures against the insurrection in the southern districts of Canara, which was at one time making so much progress under Futteh Hyder and Vittel Hegada. But had I supposed that the march of a single battalion through Soondah would have been so serious a matter, I would not have hesitated a moment in setting out for that province. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 12th July, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

I SEE now the situation in which you stand with respect to the Mahrattas, and you are certainly right to risk no part of the advantages of having a quiet rear. You speak rather doubtfully of your supplies; they are, to be sure, distant, but as the communication is open, if there has been time to make an arrangement with the Brinjarries, they ought to be constant, and plentiful, and regular.

Penacondah used to yield a great deal of rice, and also the Pollams of Colar, and both are within a month's march. I hope, however, that you do not trust to any contingent supplies from such countries as Soondah, for it has been a den of thieves for ages. To leave nothing untried, however, to procure even a small

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supply, I have written to all the Amildars to do their utmost, and to let you know the result; but I expect nothing: the country afforded scarcely any rice when matters were quiet, and now that it has been for two months overrun by banditti, who plunder every thing, I do not believe that what is left would feed you for a single day. Canara could easily give you five or six weeks' rice at present, but it has not a carriage-bullock; and could you send bullocks to Mangalore, the Ghauts and torrents would, I imagine, make the transport more tedious than even your present sources of supply. The severity of the rains, too, would also be apt to damage the rice. If you think it worth the trial to send some of your Brinjarries to Mangalore, I could immediately deliver to them about thirty thousand sears; but I suspect they will not venture down, for in general they never come till November.

I believe I stated to you in a former letter, that after October, rice might be supplied to any extent from this country, and that the land carriage to Hullehall would be only about sixty miles. If the present service is likely to continue, it would certainly be of great advantage to your operations to have a large depôt at Hullehall, or rather at Damar, where the Peshwah might probably admit a garrison of ours. But whatever you may determine with respect to this point, the bullocks must come from you, as I have none within my jurisdiction.

My Amildar has returned to Bonawasi, and from him I understand that a party of sepoys, from Hullehall, had been repulsed about the end of last month, in an attempt to escalade Budnagore, and that they had remained ever since. A letter this moment, from Jelapore, confirms the account, and adds, that the party of sepoys was only two hundred. The Amildar of Soopah, from whence the letter is, adds that he had paid three thousand pagodas at Hullehall, and that five thousand more had that day (2nd instant) left Jelapore for that station. I inclose you a copy of an official letter I wrote to Colonel Close, in consequence of his writing to me of the difficulties in Soondah. If you will consider the map, the time to receive and answer letters, and the danger of many being lost in these times, I think that you will find that, had the officers commanding been people of any experience or resource, they would have found the means of getting enough of money to move. If a man is determined to move, he might move, and join the army too, in spite of the opposition of an Amildar, or, if you will have it, of the negligence of a collector.

Yours, very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 22nd July, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

We have accounts here of your having passing the Wurdah. I hope you have the certainty of supplies from your rear, for I think there is little chance of your finding any thing in front. As there is no knowing how long the present service may last, I shall raise as many Peons as may be sufficient to protect Soondah; and I shall endeavour to throw eight or ten days' rice for your army into Hullehall. Such a depôt being there would be of service in the event of your being near that place, and your supplies from other quarters being interrupted by any accident. As Soondah has no rice, the supply to Hullehall must go from Goa, and the northern parts of Canara; and as it must be carried on men's heads, the price, till the rains abate in October, will be about seven sears the rupee. I have bargained for seventy-five thousand lacs; one third to be at Hullehall the 20th of August, and the rest on the 4th of September. I shall endeavour to complete the quantity to a lac of sears; this would be ten days' rice for twenty thousand men at the allowance of half a sear per man daily. If you are sure of a constant supply at a cheaper rate, it would be needless for me to lay up more; but if you are not, it would, I think, be proper to continue encreasing the store, even at the rate of seven or eight lacs the rupee, the whole of the months of September and October. It may be said, if matters are settled in a month or two, we shall have gone to a useless expense; but suppose that twenty or thirty thousand pagodas are lost in this way, it ought not to be put in competition with the object of insuring a supply for the army. I wish to have your instructions on this subject; for if you see no objection, I shall immediately enter into agreements with grain-dealers, and engage to take whatever quantity they can deliver at Hullehall, within the months of September and October, at seven or eight sears the rupee, or as much cheaper as it can be had.

Colonel Close has advised me to go up the Ghauts, and offer my services in settling your conquests; but your reasons for employing Appah Sahib's manager, probably did not occur to him. To secure a quiet rear, and the arrival of provisions, is certainly the grand object, and ought not to be risked for any other consideration. If this is effected by means of the managers of the Peshwah and Appah Sahib, any interference on my part

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would, perhaps, do more harm than good. While this obstacle remains, what you propose would, I imagine, be the best plan,— to let my Amildars occupy what they can secure, informing the Mahrattas, at the same time, that it is for the general good. This will answer all the purposes that could be obtained by my appearing in the business, and it will not be so likely to excite jealousy; for it will be supposed, that you will order away the Amildars, and transfer their districts to the Mahrattas, whenever they may require it. The Amildars will, in the mean time, raise Peons, and draw from the districts whatever supplies they can afford for the use of the army.

Soobah Row, whom I detached lately with a commission to raise Peons, and a letter to you, has been some time with me, and is a very smart fellow, and much fitter than I am to take charge of a new acquisition, and draw forth its resources for the public service. His orders from me were to consider the procuring of supplies for the army as his only object; and not to think of revenue, but in so far as it promoted this end. We must have possession for a month or two, before we can get any thing from new countries; but it is always something gained to keep the enemy out of them, and to have a barrier to our old possessions.

Whenever you think that my taking charge of your conquests can be of any use, I shall go up the Ghauts; for a fortnight or three weeks, my presence is more necessary here than anywhere else; for though we have defeated Vittel Hegada, and taken all his family, he is still himself in the jungle, with about two hundred adherents. A detachment of three or four hundred banditti has gone down the Dewamany Ghaut, seven coss east of Ankolah; but as the Amildars have collected a number of armed people, and as I understand that Colonel Stevenson has gone against the head-quarters at Budnagore, we shall, I trust, be able to expel them. I must also remain below two or three weeks, to make some arrangements about rice, in case you shall approve of throwing what we can into Hullehall.

Yours very truly,

Thomas Munro.

I have heard this moment, that Vittel Hegada, not being able to effect his escape, had given himself up to Captain Bruce, whom Colonel Mignan had sent to Vittel, at my request, to disarm the district.

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Camp at Savenoor, July 20th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I WAS joined last night by Goklah's cavalry, and expect to be joined this day by that under Chintamene Row. This materially alters my situation as it stood in regard to Soondah. In order to get that corps from Hillcah, it must now come to me; and on its route it may as well clear out Budnagore, and all that country. I have sent orders accordingly; and if guns are wanted for Budnagore, they will be furnished from a redoubt which I have upon the Wurdah, which is about seven miles from Buncapoor.

Send orders by express to your people, to use every exertion to supply the wants of the corps, and afterwards the same exertions to forward supplies to my troops.

I wrote to Mungush Row this day upon the subject.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

I have just received your letter of the 15th, and I shall be obliged to you if you will delay the sale of your rice for a short time.

I venture to introduce here a letter addressed to Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry Close, because it connects the preceding with those which follow. It is only necessary to add, that on the 26th Dummul was stormed, and that on the 27th Gudduck was given up without resistance.

Camp, right of the Malpurba, opposite Manowly, July 31st, 1800.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I have struck a blow against Dhondee, which he will feel severely.

After the fall of Dummul and Gudduck, I heard that Dhondee was encamped near Sawadhetty, west of the Parasquer Hill, and that his object was to cover the passage of his baggage over the Malpurba, at Manowly. I then determined upon a plan to attack both him and his baggage at the same time, in co-operation with Bowser. His detachment, however, did not arrive at Dummul till the 28th, and was two marches in my rear; but I thought it most important that I should approach Dhondee's army at all events, and take advantage of any movement which

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he might make. I accordingly moved on, and arrived on the 29th at Alligawady, which is fifteen miles from Sawadutty, and twenty-six from this place. I intended to halt at Alligawady till the 31st, on which day I expected Colonel Bowser at Nurgoond; but Dhondee broke up from Sawadutty as soon as he heard of my arrival at Alligawady, sent part of his army to Dodwad, part towards Jallihaul, and part with the baggage to this place. I then marched on the morning of the 30th to Augugoor, which is east of the Parasquer Hill, where I learnt that Dhondee was here with his baggage. I determined to move on and attack him. I surprised his camp at three o'clock in the evening, with the cavalry, and we drove into the river or destroyed every body that was in it, took an elephant, several camels, bullocks, horses innumerable, families, women, children, &c. &c. The guns were gone over, and we made an attempt to dismount them by a fire from this side; but it was getting dark, my infantry was fatigued by the length of the march, we lost a man or two, I saw plainly that we should not succeed, and I therefore withdrew my guns to my camp. I do not know whether Dhondee was with this part of the army; but I rather believe he was not. Bubber Jung was in the camp, put on his armour to fight, mounted his horse, and rode him into the river, where he was drowned. Numbers met with the same fate.

One Tanda of Brinjarries, in this neighbourhood, has sent to me for Cowle, and I have got the family of a head Brinjarry among those of several others. I have detained them; but have sent Cowle to the Brinjarry.

I hear that every body is deserting Dhondee, and I believe it, as my Mahrattas are going out this night to attack one of his parties gone towards Dodwad. They were before very partial to my camp.

I have a plan for crossing some Europeans over the river to destroy the guns, which I am afraid I cannot bring off; and then I think I shall have done this business completely. I am not quite certain of success however, as the river is broad and rapid.

Believe me, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) Arthur Wellesley.

P. S.—I have just returned from the river, and have got the guns, six in number. I made the Europeans swim over to seize a boat. The fort was evacuated. We got the boat and guns, which I have given to the Mahrattas.

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FROM COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp at Sawadutty, August 1st, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letters of the 22nd and 23rd; I have sent orders to the commanding officer at Hullehall and Nuggur, to furnish ammunition, in moderate quantities, on the requisition of your Amildars; in any quantities you please, on your own. Don't press Hullehall too much, as I know they are not very well supplied there. Take what you please from Nuggur. I have taken and destroyed Dhondee's baggage and six guns, and driven into the Malpurba about five thousand people. I stormed Dummul on the 26th July. Dhondee's followers are quitting him apace, as they do not think the amusement very gratifying at the present moment. The war, therefore, is nearly at an end; and another blow which I am meditating upon him and his Brinjarries, in the Kenton country, will most probably bring it to a close. I must halt here to-morrow, to refresh a little, having marched every day since the 22nd July; and on the 30th, the day on which I took his baggage, I marched twenty-six miles; which, let me tell you, is no small affair in this country.

My troops are in high health and spirits, and their pockets full of money, the produce of plunder. I still think, however, that a store of rice at Hullehall will do us no harm, and if I should not want it, the expense incurred will not signify.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 2nd August, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

YOURS of the 20th did not reach this place till the 29th; I however, though it must have been too late, wrote immediately to Mungush Row, to assist the Hullehall corps. I have already informed you, that there was no chance of getting any supplies for your army from Soondah. Sersey and Bonawasi, the only places which could have supplied a little rice, have been so long in possession of the enemy, that they have consumed it all; and unless the corps from Hullehall dislodges them, I am afraid it will be some time before we can get Peons enough for this purpose, for their situation prevents us from raising any in the Southern parts of the province, which are the most populous,

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and Purneah's new levies in Nuggur prevent our getting there. If Budnagore, however, is once retaken, we shall be able to keep it, and to get Peons to extend ourselves to the eastward. The only means I have of doing any thing in the provision way, is by sending rice from below the Ghauts, on men's heads. I have now no doubt of having a lac of sears for you at Hullehall, and probably more, by the 4th September. This is no great supply, but it may be of some use. It will be necessary to send gennies for it from camp, for there is not one in this country, all rice here being packed up in straw ropes. I shall keep what rice I have on hand, as you desire. Brinjarries might, I think, be prevailed upon to come down in September, to the Sedaswaghur river, to take up rice. I will thank you to inform me what the price is in your camp, that I may judge how far it will answer to send it from below the Ghauts.

I shall be ready to come up whenever you think that it can be of any use, or that Government has any intention of retaining a part of your conquests, as a security for us in future, or as an indemnification for the expense of the campaign. I would go up now, to wait in readiness, were I not detained here by the necessity of not moving, till I know the determination of the Revenue Board respecting the customs of this country. I expect to receive it by the middle of the month; five or six days more will be sufficient to make my arrangements, and I shall then be ready to act in any way you please. If the service you are now upon, should be likely to last any time, the best way of employing me, would be to spare me a small detachment to occupy the countries intended for the Company (if there be any such), and to escort rice. We have now the means in our hands of making Canara as quiet as the Carnatic, for Vittel Hegada and his Etat Major are all in prison. Yours very truly,

Thomas Munro.

In the battle against Hegada, we took his two elephants. If they can be of any use in the army, I shall send them wherever you may direct.

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp at Kittoor, August 7th, 1800.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I arrived here on the 5th. Dhondee had gone even to the sources of the Malpurba, where he passed, and his baggage is following him. Colonel Stevenson is after them, and will cut

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off part of the tail, I hope. I have halted here in the neighbourhood of a bamboo jungle, to make boats, which I must have upon the river, in order to keep up my communication with my rear.

I went yesterday to Hullehall, and was glad to see the country so much improved since last year; it is now one sheet of cultivation. The Dubash there ought to be hanged for having made any difficulties in collecting the rice to be stored.

My principal objects in going to Hullehall, were to converse with your Amildar respecting his operations upon the frontier, and with him and the paymaster's man, respecting a depôt for my troops to be made at that place.

In regard to the forts, the allies, respecting whom it would be inconvenient to convert them into enemies at the present moment, are exceedingly offended at their forts being taken from them by a parcel of Peons. Besides, to tell you the truth, now that Dhondee is off, I don't see what end it will answer to put your guards in the forts on the frontier, excepting to perpetuate confusion.

The Company do not intend, I believe, in consequence of this warfare, to take possession of any territory. To garrison a fort then against the inclination of the person who deems himself, and is supposed by the Government, to be the rightful owner, will only tend to bring on a kind of minor contest on the borders between your Amildars and the Mahratta Killedars, in which nobody will be gainers excepting the thieves, and which we, above all other people, ought to endeavour to avoid.

I have therefore desired your man to withdraw his people from Jeygoor, &c. which are Goklah's Jagheers; to use the Peons he has raised, in preserving tranquillity in that part of Soondah; and not to pass the Company's borders till he hears farther from me.

Many circumstances have tended heretofore to occasion this system of thieving upon the borders, and that of one party giving protection to the robbers of the other, which I hope will no longer exist.

First, the government of this country has been for some time in a very disturbed state, and every man has been accustomed latterly to do very nearly whatever he chose. Secondly, the Mahrattas undoubtedly took possession of Soondah; and if they were not encouraged to do so, they were not opposed by us until a very late period, when they broke off a treaty which was pending. They have always therefore looked at our possession of that country with a jealous and an envious eye, and of course

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saw with pleasure, and rather encouraged, any attempts made to disturb the tranquillity of the people living there under our protection.

I hope now, that before we shall have done in this country (if we do not take it for ourselves), we shall establish in it a strong government,—one which can keep the relations of amity and peace. At all events, we have already established a respect for ourselves; we have gained a knowledge, and have had a friendly intercourse with the principal people; and it is not probable that they will hereafter be very forward to encourage any disturbance in our country. They see plainly that it is in our power to retaliate; and from what I have seen of their country and their mode of management, I am of opinion, that at present our robbers would get more than theirs, or, in other words, that they have more to lose than we have.

I have had some conversation with them all upon the subject: they promise fairly that nothing of the kind shall happen in future, and I acknowledge, that if we are not to take possession entirely of the country, I rather prefer to trust to what they say, than to the desultory operations of Amildars and Peons. In regard to the storing of rice, the Dubash swore that he could not get a grain, although the head man of the place, which is only twenty-five miles from Hullehall, promised a large quantity in eight days, on the evening that I arrived here.

I was therefore under the necessity of desiring your Amildar (whom I believe to be the brother of Mungush Row) to exert himself to collect some.

He says that he will begin to do so immediately; and he thinks he will be able to procure a quantity in a short time, which will be of use to me.

He is to put it with the store at Hullehall, to take the receipt of the Dubash, and it is to be drawn from thence as I may want it. There was some doubt whether the Amildar would not want money for his purchases of grain upon this occasion, as he had given over to the Dubash all he had collected. In order to obviate this difficulty, I have ordered the commanding-officer at Hullehall to give him whatever money he may want from the Dubash's treasury, upon his receipt; and I have also desired the commanding officer to inform you whenever he will authorize an issue of money to him.

A store of rice at Hullehall will be a great comfort and convenience to me; and I shall be glad to have it increased to any

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extent that may be practicable. If you should wish any other arrangement, either for the mode of collecting it, or for that of advancing the money, let me know it, and I will alter that above stated accordingly. Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 9th August, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

I HAVE received yours of the 30th, and congratulate you most cordially on your success, and long to hear the result of your expedition against the Brinjarries in Kittoor. Your dashing way of carrying on the war is better calculated than any other to bring it to a speedy conclusion. Dhondee and his Assophs, and Foujdars, and Nabobs, certainly did not expect that their reign was to have been so short; you probably, yourself, did not a month ago expect that it would have been terminated so soon; I must own I did not. Your short campaign has added so much to the reputation of our arms, that it will, I think, make our vagabond neighbours respect our frontier more in future. I have not been able to discover from your letter whether Dhondee has gone towards Kittoor, or crossed the Malpurba; I see, however, that five thousand of his people have gone to the bottom, which is some satisfaction, in the mean time. I have lost the only map I had, and can therefore make nothing of your present route, nor of the country between the Malpurba and the Kistna; but I make no doubt that you mark as you go along what part lies convenient for us as a new frontier, and what posts might, by a little strengthening, be used as depôts in carrying on war hereafter to the northward. Darwar would be a good station, but you may have seen others more to the eastward. A war with an enemy that could bring forty or fifty thousand horse into the field, as the Mahrattas have sometimes done, would be a very serious matter, were we obliged to draw our rice from such a distance as we now do; a good post in Savenoor would obviate this difficulty, because, during the dry season, rice in any quantity might be thrown into it from Canara. The smallest escort would be sufficient to protect it as far as the eastern boundary of Soondah, and the only risk would be during a march of, perhaps, forty or fifty miles through the open country. We must not let all your conquests go for nothing, otherwise we shall have Soondah just as much exposed as ever. I trust that,

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besides subduing Dhoondee, you will extend the limits of our empire as far at least as the Malpurba; if to the Kistna, so much the better. Your opinion on this head would most likely determine the conduct of Government. I have just heard of the taking of Budnagoor, and the death of our friend the Buckshee Allayar Beg, so that Soondah is now clear; but as there is a gang of Dessays all along the frontier, who plunder us as much as ever Dhoondee did, I have written the Amildars to extend themselves well to the eastward if they can. There are two notorious fellows, Soonancaap and Koodlagiu, nearly, I believe, opposite to Mundagow, who have had the presumption to drive off large flocks of cattle since you gave Dhoondee the first run. You will probably hear of disputes between my Amildars and the Bhow's, but this is to be expected; it is the nature of these fellows always to be complaining of one another, even though they should not be on very bad terms. I should wish to keep the Bhow's people ten coss at least from the frontiers of Soondah, for the gangs of robbers which they have always protected do more mischief than an open enemy.

Yours very sincerely,
THOMAS MUNRO.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, 10th August, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

AFTER writing to you yesterday, I received yours of the 2nd, denouncing certain levelling Amildars of mine: the mischief is easily stopped, the remedy is in your hands, for you can either order them to camp, or back to me. I am convinced, however, that no great harm has been done; it is merely the altercation of Dubashes, for such are the disputants on both sides. Addoor received Soobah Row, the man I sent, and though the Mahratta Dubashes could not get admittance from the people, they are now angry that he has got in, and say that he intercepts your convoys.

As to the money, he had orders from me to collect no money, but to get grain in lieu of it, and send it to camp; he was also particularly directed not to touch any district in which the Bhow's people were. My intention was that he should occupy Addoor and Hangul, by giving cowle to the country people, and then draw together Peons to blockade Budnagoor; for you must know that the enemy's situation, in possession of all the

southern parts of Soondah, prevented us from raising Peons there, and none could be got in Nuggur, for Purneah wanted them there. The battalion from Hullehall has now done the business, and rendered all these circuitous operations unnecessary. But when I gave Soobah Row the plan of his campaign, we did not suspect that you would have been able to spare the battalion; I also thought that Dhoondee might have ventured to leave a small party of horse in your rear, in which case the Company's Amildars would have been more likely than the Mahratta ones to have kept the country quiet.

Your rapid success has entirely changed the face of affairs, and it is to it, and not to the Mahrattas, that you ought to attribute the advantages of a free communication with Mysore. All that the Mahrattas have done, the country people would have done themselves; they would be very glad to have your leave to drive every Mahratta out of the country.

But this is not the point at present to be considered; your rear must not only be clear, but it must be like Cæsar's wife, you must have no suspicion about it; I have therefore written my Amildar to give no interruption. I must, however, tell you in vindication of the proceedings of Mungus Row, that your letter, of which he sent me a copy, did not restrict him from acting both as a revenue and military agent: this may have been a mistake of your writer.

After all, I do not regret what has happened; for they will give Soobah Row, or perhaps me, the credit of invading their rights, and you that of defending them.

When the campaign is over, however, we must not let all your conquests go: we must keep some, to give us a better frontier than the long isolated district of Soondah. By this time I hope you have got among the Brinjarries.

Believe me yours very truly,

Thomas Munro.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, August 14th, 1800.

Dear Colonel,

I am very happy to see from your letter of the 7th, that matters are going on so well, and I perfectly agree with you, that it is better that my Amildars should keep within their own bounds. Your success has been so much more rapid and complete than I could have expected, that the great object of their

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seizing on any posts belonging to the Mahrattas, in order to keep the enemy at a distance from our own frontier, is now removed. To keep your allies in good-humour is now what is principally required, and this you can easily effect by ordering my people to stay at home. Your present expedition will answer many useful purposes. We shall, as you say, have gained a knowledge, conciliated the principal people, and raised our reputation; but I much doubt our being able to establish a government capable of preserving the relations of amity and peace. Indeed, I am convinced that we cannot; all will be well while your army is present, but withdraw it, and you will soon see what will happen. We have already seen that the Peshwah is incapable of establishing his authority; we ought not to wish to see Scindiah's established, for he has already too much influence in India. A few months ago Gockla, acting nominally for the Peshwah, was in fact independent, and he and Bopajeer Scindiah, and every man except Balkishar Bhow, encouraged depredations in Soondah; and had not Dhoondee driven them out, some other upstart adventurer would soon have attempted it; for it is the character of all Indian governments, that whenever the energy of the ruling power is gone, every subordinate agent, under the title of Nabob, Rajah, &c. pushes for independence. Look at the numberless revolutions Delhi has undergone, while the title of emperor still remains. It has always been, and always will be the same under all Indian governments. They have no principle of strength or stability in themselves, and when, therefore, they once give way, they never recover. There are two circumstances against the establishment of a strong government in Savanoor: one is the weakness of the Peshwah, and the other is the hatred of the natives to the Mahrattas; for the natives are Canarines, who are as angry at seeing themselves under the Mahrattas, as you say the Mahrattas are at Mungus Row's Peons taking their forts. They are, therefore, always ready to drive out their present masters when they can get any body to help them; and I believe that, in the late business, they showed at least as much zeal for Dhoondee as for the Peshwah, or the Bhow. Had we to do with distinct independent nations, as in Europe, it might be wise to withdraw again into our own limits for the sake of preserving an useful ally, but here things are entirely different. Savanoor makes no part of the Mahratta nation, and is less connected with it than with the natives of Mysore. To throw it back again upon a power which cannot keep it, would only be keeping

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in reserve for ourselves a second military expedition to restore order.

I confess, for my own part, that as we have thought it necessary to appear in India as sovereigns, I think we ought to avail ourselves, not of the distresses of our neighbours, but of their aggressions, to strengthen ourselves, and to place ourselves in such a situation as may be likely to prevent such attacks hereafter. Scindiah has been allowed to increase his power by the subjugation of the Jeypoor and Odapoor Rajahs, and also in a great measure of the Peshwah. We want money to oppose him, and money, too, more particularly since the increase to the pay of the native troops; and if in order to attain these objects, we retain in our possession certain territories, which pour forth invaders upon us, we can hardly be charged with having violated the laws of nations. I am for making ourselves as strong as possible before the French return to India, and set Scindiah to war with us after completing his demi-brigades with pretended deserters.

If you reduce Dhoondee completely, the Mahrattas ought to think themselves well off in giving up to us, for our help and expenses, all on this side of the Malpurba. Now for the rice. I do not believe Mungus Row's brother can give you any, or that you will get much from Kittoor. Brinjarries are the only sure resources, and unless some of Dhoondee's join you, the source of your supplies will be as distant as ever, unless you can prevail upon your own Brinjarries to come down to the Sedashagur river, and take rice from Canara. The Ghauts will be practicable next month for bullocks, and I have got about two thousand bullock-loads remaining, which I shall keep till I hear whether or not you can send for it. You ought, certainly, to have as large a store as possible at Hullehall, for the service is not yet over. We do not know what steps Scindiah may take, who is as ambitious, and fully as faithless as our late friend the Sultan; and even if the service were over, it is probable that arrangements would render the presence of your army necessary for some time to the Northward, so that there is every reason to suppose that you will still have occasion for all the rice you can get; and as I learn from Colonel Close that it is becoming scarce in Mysore, it becomes the more necessary that your Brinjarries should come down and load in Canara. If your arrangements at Hullehall can procure you any rice, it can occasion no inconvenience to me, for I shall send cash to complete whatever deficiencies may arise from the advances made from the paymaster's money. I hope

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you will give the necessary orders, either to the commanding officer, or to Mungus Row, for punishing the rebels who delivered up the Amildar of Soondah to Allayar Beg.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,
THOMAS MUNRO.

COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp on the Malpurba, August 16th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I WROTE to you on the 7th, and informed you of the manner in which Dhoondee had escaped. A detachment from Stevenson's corps followed his track, and the road was covered with dead camels, bullocks, and people, but we got hold of nothing. Bowser* has since crossed the river Malpurba, and has advanced to Shapoor; and he tells me, that he found many dead cattle, and people of all ages and sexes, on the road. The people of the country beyond Shapoor plundered four thousand Brinjarries. I am now employed in crossing the Malpurba, and I hope to be prepared to advance in two or three days. I shall leave something on this side, in case Dhoondee should double back.

I wrote to you fully respecting your Amildars on the 7th; since that day I have received a letter from Suba Row, (whose name, by the by, I never heard till he put himself in possession of part of the country,) in which he tells me that he will neither come to me nor withdraw his Tanna (Post) without orders from you; and he makes many bad excuses for this determination. I had no idea that he had so many Peons as he says he has, (twelve hundred,) or I should not have called him to me; and I have since begged of him to go wherever he pleases, and never let me see or hear of him again. I agree with you, that provided he does not disturb my rear, his expedition will do me more good than harm with my allies.

I have put them to the test respecting the thieves you mention at Mundangode. They promise that the cattle shall be forthwith restored, and that the head men of those villages, which, by their own acknowledgment, are inhabited by thieves only, shall be given up to me.

Your people at Hullehall are behaving capitally. They have

* This officer was to have joined Colonel Wellesley at Sinhetty about the 25th of July; but not arriving so soon as was expected, Colonel W. resumed his operations without him. He came in on the 1st of August.

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sent me leather for my boats; and Captain Greenley informs me that they will send me some arrack which I expect from Goa; and this will be a considerable relief to my cattle. Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Hoobly, August 20th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 14th. My state of supplies is as follows: I have twelve hundred loads in the grain department, and fifteen hundred full brinjarries in camp. I am told that I have five thousand between the Werdah and the Malpurba; and as the head man has not deceived me lately, I believe it. Besides that, three thousand brinjarries left me at Kittoor on the 5th, in order to fill along the borders of Soondah, and Savanoor, and Darwar. There are five thousand brinjarries full, who are following the Nizam's camp; but some of them, I believe, have only jowarry. Now for my consumption. It is impossible to say exactly what it is, when every body can get as much rice as he can eat, as Mahrattas, Moguls and all go to the same bazaar one day, and to different bazaars the next; and it is not practicable to form any rational estimate.

The fighting men of the Company's troops, to whom alone I allow rice in times of scarcity, consume eighty loads a-day, including those of Bowser's detachment. Thus then, as long as rice is produced at all in the bazaars, that is to say, while we are in a country which produces rice, I allow about one hundred loads of brinjarry to be sold; or, if the country is plentiful, I allow still more. When rice was not to be got in the country, as was the case between the Werdah and the Toombuddra, and, indeed, till we came to Kittoor, I allowed none to be sold by the brinjarries, excepting to the Grain Department; and I issued it to the troops at the rate of half a seer gratis. They then consumed eighty bags per diem.

At this rate of consumption, I have now in camp some thirty-three days' rice, and between the rivers, Lord knows what. It is however very clear, that I am now in no want, and that I am not likely to suffer any.

The brinjarries I look upon in the light of servants of the public, of whose grain I have a right to regulate the sale, as I may find most advantageous to its interests, always taking care that

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they have a proportionate advantage. But, besides these, there are another set of people who have attended my camp; these are dealers from Mysore, of whom I have kept no account. They come and sell their grain, and go off again; and, till we arrived at Kittoor, the rice they brought was all that was sold. Of these, I am told, there are many upon the road at this moment.

I look forward in future to the following sources of supply:—first, a few hundred loads at Hullehall—suppose five hundred; secondly, when the season opens, two thousand one hundred loads, for which I will make the brinjarries go to the Sedashagur river; thirdly, as much more from Canara as you can let me have.

You see by the state of my supplies, that I can wait till the Ghauts are practicable for bullocks; and I must beg of you to let me know the road, and the name of the place to which I shall send upon the Sedashagur river, and the districts which you would wish my brinjarries to go in future.

My ideas of the nature of the Indian governments, of their decline and fall, agree fully with yours; and I acknowledge that I think it probable that we shall not be able to establish a strong government on this frontier. Scindiah's influence at Poonah is too great for us; and I see plainly, that if Colonel Palmer remains there, we shall not be able to curb him without going to war. There was never such an opportunity for it as the present moment; and probably by bringing forward, and by establishing in their ancient possessions, the Purseram Bhow's family, under our protection, we should counterbalance Scindiah, and secure our own tranquillity for a great length of time. But I despair of it; and I am afraid that we shall be reduced to the alternative of allowing Scindiah to be our neighbour upon our old frontier, or of taking this country ourselves. If we allow Scindiah to be our neighbour, or if the country goes to any other through his influence, we must expect worse than what has passed—thieves of all kinds, new Dhondees, and probably Dhondee himself again. If we take the country ourselves, I don't expect much tranquillity.

In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and of the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and

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of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies at the same time that by the extension of our territory our means of supporting our government and of defending ourselves are proportionably decreased.

Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am in general inclined to decide that we have enough; as much, at least, if not more than we can defend.

I agree with you, that we ought to settle this Mahratta business and the Malabar Rajahs, before the French return to India; but I am afraid that to extend ourselves will rather tend to delay than accelerate the settlements; and that we shall thereby increase rather than diminish the number of our enemies.

As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with,—if indifference constitutes that character.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Cundapore, August 29th, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

I HAVE got your letters of the 19th and 20th. I like your plan against Dhondee, and am only afraid that the fellow has boats; without them, if one may judge from the severity of the weather lately, there can be no chance of his getting over. I have written to Mungus Row to take the opinion of the Buttusk people as to the best Ghaut for the Brinjarries to come down for rice, and I shall give you notice on receiving his answer. I imagine that the village at the foot of the Jelapoor Ghaut must be the place. Your arguments against extension of territory are certainly very strong, but still I cannot help thinking that you allow too much for its increasing the number of our enemies, and weakening our means of defence. There are three things that greatly facilitate our conquests in this country; the first is, the whole of India being but one nation, always parcelled out among a number of chiefs, and these parcels continually changing mas-

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ters, makes a transfer to us be regarded, not as a conquest, but merely as one administration turning out another. The second is, the total want of hereditary nobility and country gentlemen, or that there is no respectable class of men who might be impelled, by a sense either of honour or of interest, to oppose a revolution. And the third is, our having a greater command than any of the native powers of money,—a strong engine of revolution in all countries, but more especially in India. As to the enemies we create by driving men out of employment, I do not apprehend it can ever do us any serious mischief. We have already, in overthrowing Tippoo, seen more of it than we can ever see again, because his service contained so great a number of Mussulmans. Let us suppose Savanoor to fall into our hands: the only person almost in the revenue line who would suffer is Bul Kishar Bhow; all the headmen of villages would remain exactly as they are: ten or a dozen of Bul Kishar's Gomashtas might be changed, but as we must have men of the same description, their places would be supplied by a dozen of other Gomashtas, and as the whole of both sets would be probably natives of Savanoor, the result would be, that among the revenue people of the country, there would be twelve outs in favour of the Mahrattas, and twelve ins in favour of the Company. But it may be said, we should have the military against us. The chiefs would certainly be against us, but their resentment would be very harmless, because the payment of their men is the only hold they have upon them; and, as the means of doing this would be lost along with the revenue, they would be left without troops. These troops, if natives of the country, either have land themselves, or a share of what is held by their fathers and brothers, and as the labouring part of the family would prefer the Company's government, on account of being more moderately taxed, they would in most cases be able to keep the military part quiet. Many of the young men among the disbanded troops would find employment in the Company's army, and even the older, though they would be rejected themselves, would by degrees become attached to it by their younger brothers or sons entering into it. There is no army in India which supports decently, and even liberally, so great a number of what may be called the middling rank of natives as our own. It is true, it offers no field to your Nabobs and Foujdars, but what of that? these men have no influence but while in office; they are

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frequently raised from nothing, and often dismissed without any reason, and the people, by being accustomed to see so many successions of them, care about none of them; so that although these officers by losing their places become our enemies, yet, as they have no adherents, they can do us no harm.

Scindiah is at this moment as much our enemy as we can make him; if he does not break with us, it is because he fears us, and an extension of territory, by giving us greater resources, would make him still more cautious. The acquisition of Savanore would give us a frontier that would not require more troops to defend than our present one. But I have not the least doubt myself, that from the nature of Indian Governments, every inch of territory gained adds to our ability both of invading and defending. Every province that falls into our hands diminishes the force of the enemy by the loss of the revenue destined to support a certain number of troops, and it increases our force in a greater ratio, because the same province under us will pay as many troops, and of a much better quality. A Mahratta, or Nizamite army invading our territory, can make no lasting impression upon it; they cannot take forts, and we have no great feudal vassals to revolt to their standard. They might for a time ravage the country, but they would soon be obliged to fall back, by their Brinjarries, &c. being intercepted, and probably by disturbances at home. But we, in entering their territory, would find little difficulty in reducing every place that came in our way, and we should everywhere find Rows and Bhows, and Nabobs ready, if not to join us, at least to throw off their dependence upon the enemy. All that India can bring against us, is not so formidable as the confederacy of Hyder and the Mahrattas was in 1780, when we had but a small force, with a frontier as difficult to defend as our present one. The increase of our resources has enabled us to double our army, and has given us an excellent body of cavalry, and a few more lacs of pagodas of country will give us the means of making this cavalry so strong, that nothing in India will look at them. I am therefore for going to the Malpurba in the mean time, unless you are determined on going to the Kistna at once, which, unluckily, must be our fate sooner or later. The business must be settled at Poonah, and the territory may be said to be made over to us, either for a subsidy, or for the expenses of the war, and future aid against new Dhondees. Scindiah cannot well act against us in the Peninsula, unless by usurping the Poonah Government, and then we should be able

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to bring a strong confederacy against him;—all the friends of the Peshwah, the Nizam, in order to recover the valuable territory he lost before the last war, and the Rajahs of Oudipoor and Jeypoor, supported by the royal army.

Yours sincerely,
THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp at Jallihaul, Sept. 1st, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

UNFORTUNATELY, the Malpurba fell on the 24th, and Dhoondee crossed it on that night and the next day, at a ford a little above the junction with the Kistna. Lieutenant-colonel Capper was then at this place; and although I had desired the Mahrattas to push on for the very place at which Dhoondee passed, and Colonel Capper entreated them to attend to the orders I had given them, and promised to follow with all expedition, they would not move from the camp. If they had occupied that place, Dhoondee could not have passed there; he must have returned to look for another ford higher up the river, and would then have fallen into my hands. He is gone towards the Nizam's country, and left behind him, on the north side of the Malpurba, a jandah of ten thousand brinjarries, which I have got. I likewise took and destroyed five excellent guns and carriages, some ammunition, tumbrils (Company's), arms, ammunition, &c. &c. which he had left in charge of the Jalloor poligar.

I have crossed the river, and I am going to the Nizam's country immediately.

I sent off this day eight hundred empty Brinjarry bullocks to load in Canara on the Sedashagur river. I shall desire them to go by Hullehall, and shall give them a letter to your Amildar there. I shall be obliged to you if you will write to him, and point out the place to which you would wish them to go to get the rice.

I shall also be obliged to you if you will let me know what sum of money you can let me have between this time and the month of November, after providing for the payment of the troops in Canara till January, when I understand that you begin to make your collections.

I have money in camp to pay the troops for the months of August, September, and nearly for October. I expect at Chit-

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teldroog one lac of rupees; so that, you see, I am not in want, although it is necessary to look forward to the means of procuring a supply in future.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Yepulpurry, Sept. 11th, 1800.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday, in an action with Dhoondee's army, in which he was killed. His body was recognized, and was brought into camp on a gun attached to the 19th dragoons. After I had crossed the Malpurba, it appeared to me very clear, that if I pressed upon the King of the two Worlds, with my whole force, on the northern side of the Dooab, his Majesty would either cross the Toombuddra, with the aid of the Patan chiefs, and would then enter Mysore, or he would return into Savanoor and play the devil with my peaceable communications. I therefore determined, at all events, to prevent his Majesty from putting those designs in execution, and I marched with my army to Kanagerry. I sent Stevenson towards Deodroog, and along the Kistna, to prevent him from sending his guns and baggage to his ally, the Rajah of Solapoor, and I pushed forward the whole of the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry in one body, between Stevenson's corps and mine.

I marched from Kanagerry on the 8th, left my infantry at Rowly, and proceeded on with the cavalry only, and I arrived here on the 9th—the infantry at Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in my rear.

The King of the World broke up on the 9th from Malgerry, about twenty-five miles on this side of Kachoor, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately, and encamped on that evening about nine miles from hence, between this place and Bunnoo. I had early intelligence of his situation; but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued, that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the King of the World with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conagull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night,—had thought that I was at Shinnoor, and was marching to the westward, with an intention

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of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me, and the victorious army stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c. which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army.

Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest Killedar of Shinnoor had written to the King of the World by a regular Tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Rowly on the 8th, and at Shinnoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer me than he expected. The honest Killedar did all he could to detain me at Shinnoor; but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place. My own and the Mahratta cavalry afterwards prevented any communication between his Majesty and the Killedar.

The brinjarrie must be filled, notwithstanding the conclusion of the war, as I imagine that I shall have to carry on one in Malabar. Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Barkoor, 22nd September, 1800.

DEAR COLONEL,

I AM so rejoiced to hear of the decisive and glorious manner in which you have terminated the career of the King of the World, that I can hardly sit still to write: I lose half the pleasure of it by being alone in a tent at a distance from all my countrymen. On such an occasion one ought to be in a crowd, to see how every one looks and talks. I did not suspect when I left you in the Tappore pass two years ago, that you were so soon after to be charging along the Kistna and Toombuddra, murdering and drowning Assophs and Nabobs, and killing the King

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of the World himself. You have given us a very proper after-piece to the death of the Sultan. A campaign of two months finished his empire, and one of the same duration has put an end to the earthly grandeur, at least, of the Sovereign of the two Worlds. Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondee would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous sultans; but Heaven had otherwise ordained, and we must submit.

Now what is the next object? There are two, I believe: one to secure the country which the Nizam is to give us, and the other to reduce the Pyche Rajah. If both can be done at once, so much the better, for we ought to push on every thing whilst the native powers are weak, and the French out of India, but if we have not troops for both, I would be for beginning with the most important of the two, which is certainly the extension of our frontier both in the Nizam's territory and in that of the Mahrattas, if the vagabonds could be prevailed upon by treaty to let us advance to the Malpurba. If Government are determined upon the Malabar war, I hope they will give you troops enough, for without a great force of infantry nothing can be done in such a country, where it is so easy for the enemy to annoy you from thickets, and to escape without any loss. They can easily take measures to harass with impunity a small detachment, which must march in one or two columns by certain paths; but a numerous army, which could act in many different columns, and which could leave posts wherever they were wanted, would disconcert all their plans, and would soon, I imagine, compel them to submit and disarm. It might facilitate your operations to have it clearly explained that it was the intention of Government rather to lighten than to increase the burdens of the inhabitants, and that the war would cease whenever the Rajah and all the fire-arms were given up.

On receiving your letter of the 11th, I immediately wrote to Mungus Row to direct your Brinjarries not to come down the Ghauts until they got opposite to Cundapore and Mangalore, as in consequence of your being on the march back to Mysore, I had countermanded the rice ordered to Ankolah. I begin to suspect that they may not come down, but fill sooner here above the Ghauts, and follow you to Seringapatam. Should this actually happen, I will thank you to inform me, because it will then be

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necessary to sell the rice to prevent it from spoiling by too long keeping.

I wrote you a few days ago, that after paying the troops in Soondah, Nuggur, and Canara for the 1st of January, I would only have star pagodas 35,000 left, and that Mr. ——— wanted forty-five thousand rupees monthly for Goa.

Yours, &c.

THOMAS MUNRO.

Besides Dhondee, whose overthrow is thus narrated, allusion has been made to one Vettel Hegada, another active disturber of the public tranquillity in Canara. The career of this personage was neither so protracted nor so brilliant as that of the Mahratta. After committing various atrocities, he was in the end surprised and defeated; and the following laconic communication to Mr. Cockburn sums up his not very eventful history.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE now got Vettel Hegada and his heir-apparent and principal agents hanged. His defeat and seizure were entirely owing to the zeal of the inhabitants; and I have no doubt that I should be able, with their assistance, to get the better of any other vagabond Rajah that should venture to rebel.

Yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM MR. WEBBE.

Fort St. George, 4th September, 1800.

DEAR TOM,

I WAS sanguine that my diplomatic appointment would at once have rescued me from the eternal and unseasonable complaints of my own countrymen, at least; but since it has stood me in no stead, I have thrown it up. Among that accursed tribe (as the Mussulmans say) I see that you hold a distinguished place; but since I find that my system of moderation, and complacency, and persuasion has had no effect among the refractory Chieftains of Malabar and Canara, I am determined to try the system of terror; and have, as you will have observed, begun with the Vettel Hegada. Being once embarked, consistency will require us to go through with it.

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With respect to your notion of managing Savanoor, I have no doubt of your ability; but, unfortunately, we have no right to submit it to your authority, at least, for the present; though I know not what might have been done, if you had not prevented me from going to Poonah. According to existing engagements, we have entered the Mahratta dominions for the purpose of suppressing the rebel Dhoondee, with the full consent of our ally the Peshwah; and I do not know on what principle of neutrality, (those, at least, established on this side of India,) we could make such a return of civility, as to deprive him of his territories.

You will probably have heard by this time, that the whole civil and military government of Malabar has been transferred to this Presidency; and we have only to consider how we can undo the management of the Bombayers. As I knew that you had no great predilection for those gentry, I advised Lord Clive to place the whole province under you; but the Governor-General having, for the present, some scruples with respect to the entire transfer, is desirous of the continuance of a commission. Lord Clive is very desirous that you should be at the head of it, and has authority from Lord Wellesley to grant you powers of acting separately whenever you please. This outline his Lordship means to fill up as soon as Lord Wellesley shall recommend a Commission from Bengal.

My notion at present is, that we should begin by thumping the refractory Rajahs; and, in order that they may be disposed of without let or molestation, that the courts of Adowlut should be abolished, and military process substituted until the province shall be quiet and subdued. In the mean while, it may be divided into two collectorships on our establishment; and the multitude of Europeans, who eat up the revenues at present, allowed a respite from their fatiguing duties. Palighaut might be added to Coimbatore again, and the Cochin Peshcush received by the Resident of Travancore. Write to me soon what you think of all this, and reconcile yourself to the severe hardship of being made only the greatest man on that side of India.

You will naturally inquire what the Commission is to do? The fact is, that if the Collectors would do their duty no commission would be requisite; but without assistance I do not think the servants at Bombay will become collectors. I wish you would take two or three of those in Malabar to be your assistants.

Believe me yours truly,

J. Webbe.

FROM COLONEL WILKES TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Fott St. George, 13th March, 1800.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE reason to be highly flattered by the motive of your letter; because I am a profligate, and because you cannot help yourself,—*noscitur à socio;* and if you have need of such people, you can yourself be little better than one of the wicked. There is something so pastoral and plaintive in your lamentations of "wasting your sweetness in the desert air," that no lover of music or poetry could be accessary to silencing the strain. You, however, address yourself to me as a serious man, *like yourself*, and in that capacity, although I might be justified in laughing at your distress, I will have the mercy to tell you most soberly, that I shall secede from the confederacy, whenever I find a disposition to make you a prisoner for life in the jungles, contrary to your own consent.

In the mean time, you are pretty certain of one of the steps in the military line which you enumerate: Home will never return, and the Mornington must bring accounts of his resignation, and of your becoming better qualified for the grey down on your cheeks. Cuppage's retirement must be announced by the same opportunity. At present I do not know of any authority sufficient to justify Government in filling up his vacancy. Frissell is a Scotch cousin of mine, and a very promising boy; I recommend him to your fatherly protection.

England is a good place enough for a man who has abundance of guineas; and as a recommendation to the jungles, I can tell you with great truth and sincerity, that I advise no man from India to go thither with the boyish cant of content on a little; rural felicity, the *exiguum rus*, the cottage, and the balderdash. We have all attained habits that are at direct variance with these doctrines, and there is nothing which disgusted me so much as the littleness which is absolutely necessary, if you desire to keep out of gaol. I therefore desire most earnestly to keep in feather in this country, until my plumes are well-grown. I am at this moment engaged in a discussion with regard to Horace's ode,

"Hoc erat in votis, modus agri
Non ita *magnus*.

Which I say the critics have blundered, *parvus* being the word;

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but as you are planning a small collectorship, I suppose you will join with the critics.

What can I say more? Continue to rejoice me with your *serious* letters.

Ever truly yours,

W. WILKES.

In spite of the numerous and complicated public affairs which in Canara he was called upon to administer, Major Munro ceased not to keep up, as he had ever done since his first arrival in India, a regular correspondence with his friends and relatives at home. From this—and it is exceedingly voluminous—I have selected only such portions as appear best calculated to throw light upon the state of his feelings, to illustrate his character, and to convey information respecting the condition of the country; and I give the letters in the order of their dates, without offering any commentary or remark of my own.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Cundapore, 26th August, 1800.

DEAR MADAM,

THE last letter I have received from you is dated fourteen months ago, in June 1799. I am sorry you have quitted your country-house for so trifling a consideration as the expense, which could never occasion any inconvenience in me to discharge. There is indeed no way in which I could employ my money, that would yield me half so much pleasure as to hear that it had enabled you to enjoy the country air,—to have your own dairy and garden, and to walk in the fields,—a recreation of which you were so fond at Northside. Oliver Colt will make no difficulty in advancing my father any sum he may want for hiring a house in the country next summer. In ancient times, the day of flitting to the country was always to me the most joyful day in the year, and that of leaving it the most melancholy, though I used to get often wet in October, when returning home from school. I should think very little of such wettings now; for they are but mist compared to the rains of Canara. I have seen only one fair day since the 26th of May, and very few others in which the fair intervals have exceeded three or four hours; for the last five days it has not stopped a moment, day or night. During these three months I have very seldom been able to venture to walk a mile

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from the house, without being caught in a shower. A man from Greenock would think of defending himself with his great-coat. Such a piece of dress would however be only an useless incumbrance; for he might as well expect that it would keep him dry when swimming, as when exposed to the torrents which in this country descend from the skies. I would rather live upon ensign's pay in a sunny climate, than be sovereign of Canara. If I can contrive to get away, I shall go, though it will probably cost me near half my income. The very months which are here so uncomfortable, are, beyond the Ghauts, the pleasantest in the whole year. The sky is generally overcast, and only just rain enough to prevent the ground from being parched up. After my saying so much about rain, you will naturally imagine that I am surrounded by swamps, and can scarcely stir a step without sinking to the neck in mud. It might have been so before the Flood; but at present, after it has been raining for a month, the surface of the earth, after one hour of fair weather, is as dry as if it had not rained at all. The action of the rains has long ago washed away every thing that is soluble in water, and left nothing but the skeleton of the earth, which every where presents a rugged surface, formed either of rock, or of a cake of gravel many feet thick, or of coarse sand; and all is so uneven, that the water runs off immediately; or if there be a few level spots, the soil is so porous, that it is absorbed almost instantaneously. The moment the rain ceases, no water is to be seen except on the rice-fields, which may compose about one-fiftieth part of the land. All the rest remains uncultivated, because it will produce nothing. The thin coat of grass with which it is covered, is burned up after a few weeks of dry weather, and leaves a naked mass of rock or gravel exposed to the sun; so that were it not for the rich verdure of the trees, which spring up where nothing else will grow, Canara would look more bleak than the most barren spot in Scotland. What are usually called the pleasures of the country, are unknown in Canara. We can see no flocks feeding, for it does not produce a single sheep; it can hardly be said to produce cows, for I don't believe that the milk of a hundred of the diminutive black race it possesses would make a pound of butter. And we cannot ramble among cultivated fields, for the whole country is waste, except the rice-lands, which are overflowed.

Your affectionate son,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

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(Extract.)

TO HIS SISTER.

[*In allusion to a Lady who used to devote her whole attention to the care of her husband's health.*]

Cundapore, September 7th, 1800.

A WIFE cannot be gifted with a more dangerous talent. Such women be never at rest when their husbands sleep well o'-nights; they are never at ease, except when the poor man is ailing, that they may have the pleasure of recovering him again; it gratifies both their medical vanity and their love of power, by making him more dependent upon them; and it likewise gratifies all the finer feelings of romance. What a treasure, what a rich subject I shall be about ten years hence, when shivering at every breeze, for the laboratory of such a wife! when my withered carcase would be made to undergo an endless succession of experiments for the benefit of the medical world! I should be forced, in order to escape her prescriptions, to conceal my complaints, when I was really sick, and to go out and take medicine by stealth, as a man goes to the club to drink, when he is unhappily linked to a sober wife. Were Heaven, for some wise purpose, to deliver me into the hands of a nostrum-skilled wife, it would in an instant dissipate all my dreams of retiring to spend my latter days in indolence and quiet. I would see with grief that I was doomed to enter upon a more active career than that in which I had been so long engaged; for I would consider her and myself as two hostile powers commencing a war in which both would be continually exerting all the resources of their genius: she to circumvent me, and throw me into the hospital, and I to escape captivity and elixirs. No modern war could be more inveterate, for it could terminate only with the death of one or other of the combatants. If, notwithstanding the strength of my conjugal affection, the natural principle of self-preservation should be still stronger, and make me lament to survive her, I imagine my eating heartily and sleeping soundly would very soon bring about her dissolution. But there is no necessity for my anticipating these heart-rending scenes, for I have suffered enough of late. I have been shut up for near four months by a continual pour of rain, and have only seen one fair day since the 20th of May; but, as it is getting more moderate, I mean to take the field to-morrow, and not to enter a house again for many months.

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I am now among a crowd of writers, who keep up a constant clack, and interrupt me every moment to hear and sign their letters; and I shall not be able to get a few idle hours to write to you, until I can get clear of them while travelling, as I did when I sent you a journal from Soondah.

TO THE SAME.

[*Extract from his Journal, which came to hand 4th Oct. 1800.*]

I HAVE often wished to write to you a journal in return for your highland expedition; but there is no likelihood of my being able to accomplish it while I remain a civil military collector. I am now literally, what I never expected to be, so much engaged, that I have not leisure to write private letters. From daybreak till eleven or twelve at night, I am never alone, except at meals, and these altogether do not take up an hour. I am pressed on one hand by the settlements of the revenue, and on the other by the investigation of murders, robberies, and all the evils which have arisen from a long course of profligate and tyrannical government. Living in a tent, there is no escaping for a few hours from the crowd; there is no locking oneself up on pretence of more important business, as a man might do in a house, particularly if it was an upstair one. I have no refuge but in going to bed, and that is generally so late, that the sleep I have is scarcely sufficient to refresh me. I am still, however, of Sancho's opinion, that if a governor is only well fed, he may govern any island, however large.

I left Carwar yesterday morning, where the Company formerly had a factory, but abandoned it above fifty years ago, in consequence of some exactions of the Rajah of Soondah, who then possessed this country. I crossed an arm of the river, or rather a creek, about half a mile broad, in a canoe, and proceeded on foot, for the road was too bad for riding, over a low range of hills, and then over some rice-fields, mostly waste, from the cultivators having been driven away by frequent wars, till I came again to the edge of the river. It was almost one thousand yards wide; and as the tide was going out, it was extremely rapid; and as there was a scarcity of canoes, as well as of inhabitants, I was obliged to wait patiently under a tree for two hours, till one was brought. I was, in the mean time, beset with a crowd of husbandmen, as I always am on my journeys, crying out, "We have no corn, no cattle, no money! How are we to pay our rents?"

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This is their constant cry, in whatever circumstances they may be; for, as the oppressive Governments of India are constantly endeavouring to extort as much as possible from them, their only defence is to plead poverty at all times, and it is but too often with just cause they do so. They think, that if they are silent, their rents will be raised, and I shall therefore be pursued with their grievances for some months, till they find, from experience, that I do not look upon their being quiet as any reason for augmenting their rents. The party that attacked me, though natives of this part of the country, are Mahrattas: they speak in as high a key as the inhabitants of the Ghauts, which, as a deaf man, I admire, but not their dialect, which is as uncouth as the most provincial Yorkshire. Our conversation about hard times was interrupted by the arrival of a canoe, which enabled me to cross the river, and get away from them. After a walk of about two miles farther, I got to my halting-place, at a small village called Ibalgah. Though I had only come six miles altogether, I had been above six hours on the road. As my tent was not up, I got into a small hot hovel of a pagoda to breakfast. I forget how many dishes of tea I drank; but I shall recollect this point to-morrow. When I was done, however, as my writing materials were not come up, as the place in which I was was very close and hot, and as I knew my tent and bullocks would not, on account of the rivers, be up before dark, I resolved to make an excursion, and look about me till sun-set. There is hardly a spot in Canara where one can walk with any satisfaction, for the country is the most broken and rugged perhaps in the world. The few narrow plains that are in it are under water at one season of the year; and during the dry weather, the numberless banks which divide them make it very disagreeable and fatiguing to walk over them. There is hardly such a thing as a piece of gently rising ground in the whole country. All the high grounds start up at once in the shape of so many inverted tea-cups; and they are rocky, covered with wood, and difficult of ascent, and so crowded together, that they leave very little room for valleys between. I ascended one of them, and stood on a large stone at the summit, till dark. The view before me was the river winding through a valley from a mile to two miles wide, once highly cultivated, but now mostly waste; the great range of mountains which separate Soondah from the low country, about twelve miles in front, many branches running from it like the teeth of a great

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sea, to the beach, and many detached masses running in every direction, and almost all covered with wood. On returning home, I found my tent arrived, and it was as usual filled with a multitude of people, who did not leave me till near midnight. I continued my journey at daybreak this morning, over cultivated fields for the first mile, and all the rest of the way, about ten miles more, through a tall and thick forest, up a valley towards the foot of the Ghauts. The prospect would have been grand from an eminence; but as it was, I saw nothing, except the heavens above me, and a few yards on each side through the trees. I liked the road, because it was carrying me away for a time from a country I am tired of. My halting-place was on the edge of a small mountain-stream. There was not a clear spot enough for my tent, though a small one; but I was in no hurry about it, as there was plenty of shade under the bamboos and other trees to breakfast. Canara does not produce such a breakfast as you have every day in Scotland without trouble: mine was very bad tea, for I had been disappointed in a supply from Bombay; some bread, as heavy as any pebble of equal size in the stream beside me, made about a week ago by a native Christian of the Angedives, perhaps a descendant of Vasco de Gama, and as black as the fellow himself. It was however to me, who had seen no bread for three months, less insipid than rice, and with the addition of a little butter, of at least seven different colours, a very capital entertainment. You, who have fortunately never been in this country, may wonder why butter is so rare. It is because the cows are so small and so dry, that the milk of fifty of them will hardly make butter for one man. They are all black, and not much larger than sheep; and as they give so little milk, no man makes butter for sale. Every farmer puts what milk his cows yield, into a pot or a bottle, and by shaking it for half an hour, he gets as much butter as you may lift with the point of a knife; when, therefore, the serious task of raising a supply of butter for my breakfast comes under consideration, my servant, before he gets a sixpennyworth, is obliged to go round half a dozen of houses, and get a little at each. The whole together is not more than you eat every morning to your roll. When I had finished breakfast, and was sitting, as an Eastern poet would say, "listening to the deep silence of the woods," the little stream running past me put me in mind of Alander, and led me insensibly to Kelvin, and to the recollection of the companions

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with whom I had so often strayed along its banks, and thinking of you amongst the rest. I thought that none of them, not even you, would feel more interest than you in—

20th January.—I was interrupted yesterday by the arrival of my cutcherry people. I meant, I believe, to have said, that as no person would feel more interest than you in my solitary journey through Soondah, I determined, as soon as my writing-table should arrive, to begin, at least, an account of it to you; whether I should ever finish it or not. The wood was so thick, that it was not till after some search, that a spot could be found to pitch my tent upon; it was an open space, of near a hundred yards square, which had in former times been cultivated, and had since been overgrown with high grass, which had a few hours before our arrival been set fire to by some travellers (who were breakfasting and washing themselves in the river,) because they thought it might afford cover to tigers. It was still burning; but some of it, nearest the shade of the trees, being too wet with dew to catch fire, afforded a place for my tent. The people who accompanied me were so much alarmed about tigers, that as soon as it grew dark they kindled fires all round, and passed the night in shouting to one another. I never go to bed to lie awake, and was therefore in a few minutes deaf to their noise; but either it or the cold awoke me about two hours before daybreak; having no cover but a thin quilt, I was obliged to put on my clothes before I went to bed again, as the only way to keep me warm. The thermometer was at 47, which you would not think cold in Scotland; but at this degree I have felt it sharper than I ever did in the hardest frost at home. It is probably owing to our being exposed to a heat above 90 during the day, that we are so sensible in India to the chill in the morning. I continued my journey this morning on foot, for the road was so steep and narrow that it was in most places impossible to ride. The forest was as thick as yesterday,—nothing visible but the sky above; the trees were tall, and straight, usually fifty or sixty feet to the branches; no thorns, and scarcely any brushwood of any kind; no flowers spring from the ground in the forests of India. The only flowers we meet with in them are large flowering shrubs, or the blossoms of trees. The ground is sometimes covered with long grass, but is more frequently bare and stony. Nothing grows under the shade of the bamboo, which is always a principal tree in the woods of this country. After travelling about two miles, I got to the foot of the Ghaut, where I met some of my people, who

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had lost their way yesterday, and had nothing to eat. I am fond of climbing hills; but I ascended the Ghaut with much pleasure, because it was carrying me into a colder region, because I should be able to travel without being stopped, as in Canara, every four or five miles by deep rivers, and because I should again, at Hullehall, bless my eyes with the sight of an open country, which I have not seen since I left Seringapatam. On getting near the top of the Ghaut, the woods had been in many places felled, in order to cultivate the ground under them, and I by this means had an opportunity, from their open breaks, of seeing below me the country through which I had been travelling for two days. It was a grand and savage scene—mountain behind mountain, both mountains and valleys black with wood, and not an open spot, either cultivated or uncultivated, to be seen. I was now entering a country which had been long famous for the best pepper in India—an article which had been the grand object of most of the early voyages to the coast of Malabar; but there was not a single plant of it within many miles. On reaching the summit of the Ghaut, and looking towards the interior of the country, I saw no plains, and scarcely any thing that could be called a valley; but a heap of hills stripped of their ancient forests, and covered with trees, from one to twenty years' growth, except a few intervals where some fields of grain had recently been cut. Neither in Canara nor Soondah does grain grow annually, except in such lands as can be floated with water. On all hills, therefore, and rising grounds, and even flats, where water is scarce, a crop of grain can only be obtained once in a great number of years; the time depends on the growth of the wood. When it is of a certain height, it is cut down, and set fire to; the field is then ploughed and sown. If the soil is good, it yields another crop the following year, and it must then be left waste from eight to twenty years, till the wood is again fit for cutting. All the land within my view had undergone this operation; every field had a different shade, according to the age of the wood, and looked at first sight as if it was covered with grain of various kinds; but I knew to my sorrow, that nineteen parts in twenty were wood. My halting-place was much pleasanter than yesterday: it was an open plain of about half a mile in length, surrounded with wood; but neither so high nor so thick as to hinder me from seeing the hills beyond it.

My baggage being all behind in the pass, I sat down under a tree, and entered into conversation with half a dozen of the in-

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habitants, the owners of the fields where we were then sitting. They consisted of the accountant of a neighbouring village, and five farmers, two of whom were Mahrattas; but the other three belonged to one of the castes of Indian husbandmen, who never eat any kind of animal food, nor taste any thing, not even water, in any house but their own; they wore beards as long as those of their goats, and they looked almost as simple and innocent. They pointed to a few straw-huts at the end of the field, and told me it was the spot where their village had formerly stood; it had been burned and plundered, they said, about four years before by Venjee Naigue, who had acted as a partisan in General Matthews's campaign, and had afterwards continued at the head of a band of freebooters till the fall of Tippoo, when he relinquished the trade of a robber. They had forsaken their abodes during all that time, and were now come to know on what terms they might cultivate their lands. I told them they should be moderate, on account of what they had suffered.

21st January.—I asked them some questions about the produce of their fields. One of the bearded sages replied, that they yielded very little; that it was sometimes difficult to get a return from them equal to the seed they had sown. Had I asked the question of any other Indian farmer, five hundred miles distant, he would just have given me the same answer. It is not that they are addicted to lying, for they are simple, harmless, honest, and have as much truth in them as any men in the world; but it is because an oppressive and inquisitorial Government, always prying into their affairs, in order to lay new burdens upon them, forces them to deny what they have, as the only means of saving their property. An excellent book might be written by a man of leisure, showing the wonderful influence that forms of government have in moulding the dispositions of mankind. This habit of concealment and evasive answers, grows up with them from their infancy. I have often asked boys of eight or ten years old, whom I have seen perched on a little scaffold in a field, throwing stones from a sling to frighten the birds, how many bushels they expected when the corn was cut. The answer was always—"There is nothing in our house now to eat. The birds will eat all this, and we shall be starved." The farmers are however, as far as their knowledge goes, communicative enough where their own interest is not concerned. I therefore turned the discourse to the produce of a neighbouring district. One of the old gentlemen, observing that I had looked very attentive at his candy,

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was alarmed lest I should think he possessed numerous flocks of sheep; and he therefore told me with some eagerness, that there was not a single sheep in Soondah, and that his cumly was the produce of the wool of Chitteldroog. I was looking at his cumly with very different thoughts from those of raising his rents. I had not seen one since I left Mysore: it is the only dress of the most numerous and most industrious classes of husbandmen. They throw it carelessly over their head or shoulders to defend them from the sun; they cover themselves with it when it rains; and they wrap themselves up in it when they go to sleep. The rich man is only distinguished from the poor man by having his of a finer quality. It was in this simple dress that I had for many years been accustomed to see the farmers and goatherds in the Baramahl; and when I saw it again on the present occasion, it was like meeting an old friend: it prepossessed me in favour of the owner; it brought to my remembrance the country I had left, and it filled me with melancholy, while I considered that I might never see either it or any of my former friends again. Our conference was broken up by the appearance of my writing-table. I had placed it under a deep shade, on the side of a clear stream, little larger than a burn, where, after breakfasting, I wrote you yesterday's journal. Such streams seem to abound in this country, for I am now writing on the bank of such another; but under a canopy of trees, like which Milton never saw any thing in Vallombrosa: the aged banian shooting his fantastic roots across the rivulets, and stretching his lofty branches on every side; and the graceful bamboo rising between them, and waving in the wind. The fall of the leaf has begun for some time, and continues till the end of February. It was their falling on my head, and seeing the rivulet filled with them, that put me in mind of Vallombrosa.

It was so cold last night, that I had very little sleep. I rose and put on all my clothes, and went to bed again; but as I had no warm covering, it would not do, and I lay awake shivering most part of the night. At daybreak I found, to my astonishment, the thermometer at 34. I had never seen it in the Baramahal below 47. I continued my journey as usual, a little before sunrise, through a forest with a few openings, except where the wood had been cut down for the kind of cultivation I mentioned to you yesterday, or where there were a few rice-fields, but none of them half a mile in extent. Through the openings, I had glimpses of the low hills on all sides of me, some

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of them covered with wood, some entirely naked, and some half covered with wood and half with grain. I met with several droves of bullocks and buffaloes, belonging to Dharwar, returning with salt from Goa. I saw a herd of bullocks feeding near the road, and I was glad to find they were the cattle of Soondah, for they resembled in size and colour those of Mysore. There is hardly a cow in Canara that is not black; but above the Ghauts black is uncommon, four-fifths of them are white, and the rest of different colours. Men are fond of systems, and, before I came here, I had convinced myself that the diminutive size and the dark colour of the cattle of Canara were occasioned by scarcity of forage, and the deluge of rain which pours down upon them near six months in the year; but the rains are as heavy and constant here as in Canara—it cannot therefore be by them that they have been dyed black. I am not grazier enough to know what influence poor feeding may have on the colour of cattle; but, if I recollect right, the small breed from the highlands of Scotland are called black cattle.

There is no want of forage in Soondah, for, wherever the wood has been cleared away, the grass is four or five feet high. On coming to the place where I was to pitch my tent, I found that the head-farmer of the village, by way of accommodating me, had prepared an apartment of above twenty yards square and eight feet high, made of long grass and bamboos; it had been the work of a dozen of men for two days. He was much mortified that I would not go into it. I preferred the shade of trees during the day, and my tent at night. His son attended with a present of a fowl and a little milk. It is the custom in India, and was formerly in Europe, for men placed in the management of provinces, to live upon the inhabitants during their journeys through the country; the expense thus incurred, and frequently a great deal more, is commonly in this country deducted from the amount of the public rent. I told the farmer, that as I meant to make him pay his full rent, I could not take his fowl and milk without paying him for them; and that I would not enter his pundull, because he had not paid the labourers who made it; but that I should pay them, and order my cutcherry people into it. It cost me a good deal of time and trouble to persuade him that I was in earnest, and really intended that he should not feed any of the public servants who were following me.

22nd January.—I am now again seated at the side of a rivulet darkened with lofty trees. I have come about ten miles; but as I understand that Soopah is only four miles farther, I mean to go on again the moment I see my tent come up; for I am not sure that it is on the right road, and were it to miss me, I might be obliged to spend the night under a tree; which is not pleasant in such cold weather, when there is no military enterprise in view, by which I might comfort myself with the reflection of its being one of the hardships of war. I passed the greatest part of the night in endeavouring to keep myself warm, but with very little success; the covering I had was too scanty, and all my most skilful manœuvres to make it comfortable were therefore to no purpose. The thermometer at daybreak was at 56. It was 78 yesterday in the shade at three o'clock, which is the hottest time of the day; it will, I suppose, be about the same degree to-day. Such heat would be thought scorching at home, but here it is rather pleasant than otherwise. I enjoy the sun when his beams find an opening among the branches, and fall upon me; and were it not for the glare of the paper, I would not wish them away. Nothing can be more delightful than this climate at this season of the year! The sun is as welcome as he ever is in your cold northern regions; and though from 70 to 80 is the usual heat of the day, there is something so light, so cheerful and refreshing in the breezes, which are continually playing, that it always feels cool. They are more healthy and sprightly than the gales which sported round Macbeth's Castle, where the good King Duncan said the martins delighted to build. My road to-day was an avenue of twenty or thirty yards broad through the forest. The trees were taller and thicker than I had yet seen them. The bending branches of the bamboo frequently met and formed a kind of gothic arch. I passed many small rice-fields, and five or six rivulets. The most extensive prospect I had the whole way was over a flat of rice-fields, about a quarter of a mile wide and a mile long, bounded at the farther end by a group of conical hills covered with wood, beyond which I could not see. It was in woods like these that the knights and ladies of romance loved to roam; but the birds that inhabit them are not the musical choristers, who, at the approach of Aurora, or when a beautiful damsel opened her dazzling eyes, and shed a blaze of light over the world, were ever ready with their songs. They do certainly preserve the ancient custom here of hailing the appear-

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ance of Aurora; but it is with chirping and chattering, and every sort of noise but music. I must however except some species of the dove and jungle-cock; for, though they cannot warble, the one has a plaintive, and the other a wild note, that is extremely pleasing. The lark is the only musical bird I have met with in India. But notwithstanding the want of music and damsels, I love to rise before the sun and prick my steed through these woods and wilds under a serene sky, from which I am sure no shower will descend for many months.

31st January.—I have been for these eight days past at Soopah, a miserable mud-fort, garrisoned by a company of sepoys. The village belonging to it contains about a dozen of huts, situated at the junction of two deep sluggish rivers. The jungle is close to it on every side, and the bamboos and forest trees with which, since the creation, the surrounding hills are covered, seem scarcely to have been disturbed. Every evening after sunset, a thick vapour rose from the river, and hid every object from view, till two hours after sunrise. I was very glad this morning to leave such a dismal place. I had for my companion, every day at dinner, the officer who commanded. He was one of those insipid souls whose society makes solitude more tiresome. I was, to my great surprise, attacked one morning by a party of four officers from Goa, headed by Sir William Clarke. He was going as far as Hullehall to see the country. I told him he ought to begin where he proposed ending, for that all on this side of it was such a jungle, that he never would see a hundred yards before him, and that all beyond it was an open country. He had put himself under the direction of an engineer officer as his guide, and had fixed on a spot some miles farther on for their encampment, so that he could only stay about an hour with me. He gave me the first account of the Duke of York's landing in Holland; but the overland packet, he said, brought nothing from Egypt.

The country through which I came to-day was a continuation of the same forest, through which I have now been riding about sixty miles. My ride to-day was about twelve miles, not a single hut, and only one cultivated field in all that distance. After the first four miles, I got rid of the hilly uneven country in which I had so long been; and the latter part of my journey was over a level country, still covered with wood, but the trees neither so tall, nor growing so close together, as those I had left behind. I could have walked, and even in many places rode, across the wood

in different directions, which would have been impossible on any of the preceding days. I have halted under a large banyan tree, in the middle of a circular open space about five or six hundred yards in diameter. One half of it is occupied by a natural tank covered with water-lilies. The rest is a field which was cultivated last year. It was just in such a forest as this that the characters in "As you like it" used to ramble. What an idle life I have led since I came to India! In all that long course of years, which I look back to sometimes with joy, sometimes with grief, I have scarcely read five plays, and only one novel. I have dissipated my precious time in reading a little history, and a great deal of newspapers, and politics, and Persian. I am not sure that I have looked into Shakespeare since I left home: had I had a volume of him in my pocket, I might have read the "Midsummer Night's Dream," while I was sitting two hours under the banyan tree, waiting for my writing-table and breakfast; but instead of this, I entered into high converse with a Mahratta boy who was tending a few cows. He told me that they gave each about a quart of milk a-day: this is a great deal in India. Twenty cows would hardly give so much in Canara. He told me also, that the cows, and the field where we sat, belonged to a Siddee. I asked him what he meant by a Siddee. He said a Hubshee. This is the name by which the Abyssinians are distinguished in India. He told me that his master lived in a village in the wood, near a mile distant, which consisted of about twenty houses, all inhabited by Hubshees. I was almost tempted to suspect that the boy was an evil sprite, and that the Hubshees were magicians, who had sent him out with a flock of cows, who might be necromancers for any thing that I knew, to waylay me, or decoy me to their den. But I soon recollected that I had read of Africans being in considerable numbers in this part of India. They are, no doubt, the descendants of the African slaves formerly imported in great numbers by the kings of Bijapoor and the other Mohammedan princes of the Deccan, to be employed in their armies, who were sometimes so powerful as to be able to usurp the government. . . .

15th March.—This letter ought, by this time, to have been half way to Europe; but I have had so much to do, and have had so many letters, public and private, on my hands for the last six weeks, that I never thought of you. I went in the evening, after talking with the cowherd, to see his master. He was a young boy, whose father had been hanged for robbery some years before. I saw his mother and several of his relations, male and

female, not of such a shining black, but all of them with as much of the Negro features, and as ugly as their ancestors were in Africa two centuries ago. I am now about seventy-five miles south of their village; but by traversing the country in different directions, I have come above twice that distance. I am encamped on the bank of a little river, called the Wurdee, and am within about two miles of the borders of Nuggur, usually called by us Biddanore. I have now seen the whole of the Soondah; and it is nothing but an unvaried continuation of the same forest, of which I have already said so much. Along the eastern frontier the country is plain, and appears, from ancient revenue accounts, to have been, about two centuries ago, well cultivated and inhabited; but it is now a thick forest full of ruinous forts and villages mostly deserted. The western part of Soondah, towards the Ghauts, is an endless heap of woody hills without a single plain between them, that never have, nor probably ever will be cultivated, on account of their steepness. It is among them, in the deepest glens shaded by the highest hills and thickest woods, that the pepper gardens are formed. The plant is every where to be met with in its wild state, but its produce is inconsiderable. It is from the cultivated plant that the markets of India and Europe are supplied. The cultivators are, with very few exceptions, a particular caste of Bramins, who pass the greatest part of their solitary lives in their gardens, scarcely ever more than two or three families together; their gardens are but specks in the midst of the pathless wilds with which they are surrounded. They are dark even in the sunniest days, and gloomy beyond description, when they are wrapt in the storm of the monsoon.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Morbidderi, 7th October, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I WROTE to you some days ago from Karkull, and promised to answer your queries; but you are not aware that there is so much to do here, that I have not time to *think*. My leisure is devoted to sleep, in order to recruit for next day. The most serious obstacles I have met with, and which are to be met with nowhere else, are the shape of the country and the wetness of the climate. I cannot go the rounds of Canara and Soondah by any road, under six hundred and fifty miles. Ten miles a-day is as much as a cutcherry can go on an average in this country;

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and as nobody travels at night, by the badness of the roads and interruptions at ferries, it is usually late before we get to our ground; and with prayers and ablutions, and waiting for baggage, nothing is ever done on these days. So here is sixty-five days lost at once. When I turn my face to the North, whatever goes wrong in the South must remain so for several months; for I cannot go back and put it right immediately, as I should do in a dry country where there was breadth as well as length. It was a continual scramble for the Mattasiddies to get from their houses to the cutcherry, with their papers damp and their petticoats wet; and when we were fairly assembled, there was as much coughing as in a church at home, which, with the clattering of the rain on the tiles, made it difficult for a deaf man like me to hear what was saying. I could not call in intelligent natives from the neighbouring districts to enter into agricultural investigations; for every man at that time stayed at home to look after his farm. They come for their own amusement to the cutcherry, when the weather begins to get moderate, but then I am obliged, at the same time, to take the field.

There is another business here which takes up a great deal of my time, though it is almost unknown on your coast—disputes about estates. In the Baramahl, not one complaint in a hundred was about property in land,—here nine in ten are on that subject. The hearing of them alone takes, one day with another, above two hours. My business is seldom under ten hours a-day, and often twelve or thirteen. A man may go on at this rate for a season or two, but it is impossible to keep it up. I am, besides, anxious to get Canara into such a state that it may be managed by any body; and I am convinced, that the people of this country, by my spending all my time among them under the fly of a marquee, are already better British subjects than they would have been in twenty years, had I lived in a house on the seashore. But this mode of life, while it effectually accomplishes the important end of reconciling them to our government, by keeping me continually in a crowd, necessarily puts it out of my power to enter much into any details which require much thought and uninterrupted leisure. I am never alone; and at this moment I am listening to letters and ordering replies.

Now, having finished my "indolent excuses," let us answer, as well as we can, your queries.

All my settlements were made with the landlords, or, in cases where there was no landlord, with the immediate occupant. I

cannot ascertain the number of landlords, because one man often has land in half a dozen of different villages, and his name appears in them all; but I am pretty sure that the number is not under twenty thousand. All rents are in money. The rent in kind, entered in the statement was not a certain proportion of the crop; but the equivalent of a certain portion of money-rent, which was taken to store different garrisons. I gave up the grain, and substituted the same sum for which it had been originally commuted last century. No land in Canara was ever held either of the Sirkar or of intermediate proprietors, on the condition of sharing the crop. The thing is unknown here. All agreements among farmers and their tenants are for a fixed rent, either in money or kind—or both; and it is the same whether the crop is scanty or abundant.

In Canara, all the lands which the landlords do not immediately manage themselves, have a known fixed rent, in money or kind, which it never exceeds, and for which it has been given from one generation to another. We are therefore sure that, by estimating such lands at what they have paid for some years past, we are not taking a high, precarious rent, but one which experience has proved to be just. It is this system of fixed rents both among landlords and tenants, together with several other leading points, that tempts me to suppose that I know the actual state of this country, nearly as well as I did that of the Baramahl, after a seven years' residence. It is however to be recollected, that it is a subject on which, after every possible investigation, one can only speak with uncertainty.

I acknowledge that my opinion is now more favourable with respect to the situation of the landlords here, than it was when I wrote my letter of the 31st May. During the four months I was confined by the monsoon at Cundapore, several hundred causes about claims to estates came before me. The produce was perfectly ascertained, because the accounts of it were brought forward by both parties. There was no instance in which the Sirkar's share was more than one-third. In many it was not one-fifth, or one-sixth, and in some not one-tenth, of the gross produce. It may be said that the most profitable lands are the most likely to produce contention. I have reason, however, to think that those alluded to were of all descriptions; and I am convinced that, by keeping a register for two or three years of all disputed lands, we should be able to form a more accurate judgment of the average produce than could be done from a survey. A claim

given in by a hundred and forty-one Christian landlords, has already furnished me with more examples of this kind. These men were carried into captivity by Tippoo in 84: they returned last year; and as they are composed of all descriptions of men, from the highest to the lowest, they give a correct average of their own estates. These estates were confiscated by the Sultan, and divided among other castes. The Christians have claimed them again. It appears from a statement, acknowledged to be correct by both parties, that these lands are now cultivated by no less than two hundred and thirty-five under-tenants, who pay yearly to the proprietors Bah. pagodas 2532.

The Sirkar-rent is Bah. pagodas 859. 2. 15., very little more than one-third of the landlord's share, and probably not one-sixth of the gross produce. The Christians are supposed to be the most industrious class of rayets in this province. The average of their lands is therefore higher probably than that of any other whole caste; but I imagine that there are a great number of substantial landholders in all castes, and even in whole villages, in Mangalore, Bantwalla and Barkoor, whose lands would average as high. Had we any means of ascertaining, with any degree of certainty, what the Sirkar's share actually is, the rest would be easy; for by reducing it to twenty-five per cent. of the gross produce wherever it was more, and letting it remain untouched wherever it was less, we should be as sure of realizing our land-rent as we could be in England, and the proprietors and their tenants would be as comfortable as they are in that country. The industry and economy of the people—the fertility of the soil—the mildness of the climate—the facility and cheapness of cultivation, enable the landlords to pay here with ease a proportion of the produce which could not be levied in Europe, without reducing them to beggary.

I am not now inclined to think that more than fifty, or at most sixty thousand pagodas ought to be remitted, or that twenty or twenty-five thousand of it ought to be remitted in the current year: the rest should be reserved till you make the permanent settlement. The use of making an immediate remission of a certain portion, say one-sixteenth, is to convince the inhabitants that our demand is now limited, and that they may exert all their means in improvement, without the smallest risk of attracting the attention of the Sirkar. When they are satisfied that this is the case, a new spirit will be given to agriculture. But it is a difficult matter, and would be a work

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of time, to overcome their doubts and suspicions of our intentions by mere assurances. The speediest and best way of effecting it would be by a general remission:—its being general, and every where equal, would show that it was not made with a view of averting partial failures, but that it was made because we had enough, and had fixed our demand. They have already begun to show more confidence than I could have expected. The inhabitants of Cundapore, who know me best from my having been four months among them, have taken Sunnuds as proprietors for more than one-third of the Sirkar-lands of that district, which amounted to above seven thousand pagodas rent, and I imagine they will take Sunnuds for all the rest next year. These are lands from which the proprietors have been driven or expelled twenty years ago, or to which, from the failure of heirs, there have been no owners during that period: they have been considered as Sirkar-lands, and cultivated at a reduced rent by a succession of cultivators. It is usual to allow a remission of about one-fourth of the rent of all lands which revert to the Sirkar, because a temporary holder will not go to the necessary expense in cultivating them, inasmuch as he is liable to be turned out by any man who bids more. When a man takes a proprietary sunnud, he has the advantage of permanent possession, and the Sirkar has the advantage of a permanent rent, for a proprietor has no claim to indulgence for failure of crops, or any other losses, and indeed very seldom asks it. Estates are frequently left uncultivated for a year, in consequence of disputed claims to the succession, and a curse pronounced upon whoever shall cultivate them, till they are adjusted. But the rent is paid as regularly as if they had been cultivated as usual.

Your conjecture about the black books* specifying the extent and measurement of lands, is wrong; had it been right, all the rest would have been easy. I mentioned in my report, that the Bijannaggur settlement had not been made from measurement, and none has hitherto been made. Estates are in the black books called wurgs, and are detailed according to their rent, without any mention of their extent. When they are subdivided, the different lots become new wurgs, and are entered under new names, with a reference to that of the original wurg from which

* These black books are the village registers. They are from three to four inches thick. The leaves are composed of a sort of coarse cloth, of the substance of pasteboard, and dyed black. They are written upon with a sort of slate pencil, which does not rub, though it will wash out.

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they had been separated. The rents are specified, but nothing said about the land. Hence it happens, that though we know what rent any particular village has paid at different periods, we know nothing of its wurgs; the situation and extent of them is scarcely known to any body but the owners. They are often composed of fields lying at a distance from each other; and the lands of one wurg are sometimes scattered about in two or three different villages. The village servants know very little about them, because rents have been always fixed, and paid, whether the proprietor cultivated the whole or only a part of his estate: they never went to measure his land, or to estimate his crop, for it was no part of their business. I am perfectly of your opinion about customs, and the danger of reckoning upon revenue to be drawn from consumption; but I must answer Webbe on this subject, as I have just got a query from him. Yours very truly,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

Such was the manner in which Major Munro (for he had by this time been promoted to a Majority) spent his public life in Canara. It now only remains that I give some account of his more private proceedings, for which in a MS. journal kept by his friend and assistant, Mr. Alexander Read, I am fortunate enough to find ample materials.

As often as the calls of duty permitted him to remain stationary at his head-quarters, Major Munro, who was economical of his time, rose every morning at daybreak, no matter how late the business of the preceding night might have kept him up, from a bed which consisted simply of a carpet and pillow spread upon a rattan couch. On quitting his chamber, he walked about bare-headed in the open air, conversing with the natives, who, on various pretexts and at all seasons, beset him, till seven o'clock, at which time breakfast was served up for himself and his assistants. Of this he partook heartily, more especially of the tea, which he considered a wholesome and refreshing beverage; whilst of sugar he was so singularly fond, as frequently to request an additional allowance, for the pleasure of eating the lump that was left undissolved at the bottom of the cup.

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Breakfast ended,—and the meal never lasted longer than half an hour,—the assistant received his instructions, and withdrew to the office of his moonshee and English writers; upon which, Major Munro first dispatched his private and official letters, and then adjourned to his hall of audience. There he remained during the rest of the forenoon, surrounded by his public servants and the inhabitants, carrying on the current duties of the province, investigating claims upon disputed property, or obtaining such information as could afterwards be acted upon only by the aid of notes and calculations.

In this manner he employed himself till about half-past four in the afternoon, when he broke up his court, and retired to his apartment to dress. Whilst the latter operation was going on, his assistant usually read to him either public and private letters, should such be received, or, in default of these, a portion of Hudibras, or some other amusing work. At five o'clock he sat down to dinner, from which hour till eight he laid aside the cares of office, that he might delight those who were so fortunate as to enjoy his society, with his wit, humour, and remarkable powers of conversation; but punctually as the hour of eight returned, his habits of business were resumed. His night-cutcherry then opened, which, like that of the day, was always crowded with suitors; and though he professed then to attend only to matters of minor moment, midnight rarely found him relieved from his arduous duties.

Whilst he thus regulated his conduct by the standard of usefulness only, he gradually acquired, both in his costume and manners, a considerable degree of eccentricity. Remote from all intercourse with polished society, he attended very little to the niceties of dress; so that whilst in his person he was always remarkable for cleanliness, his attire gave few indications of time wasted at the toilette. His garments, likewise, set all changes of art and fashion at defiance: they continued to hold the form which they had originally assumed in the days of Sir Eyre Coote; whilst his cue was not un-

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frequently tied up with a piece of red tape, in the absence of a wrapper of more appropriate colour and texture. In like manner, his conversation would, at times, assume a character indicative of any thing rather than effeminacy or false refinement. The idea of love he treated with unsparing ridicule, declaring that idle men only fell into so gross an extravagance; and when informed by Mr. Read of the marriage of their mutual friend Mr. Ravenshaw, his only observation was,—"I would not advise you to increase the difficulties of your situation, by taking a young wife for an assistant."

Major Munro was at all times particularly humane towards the inferior animals. He possessed an old white horse, which he had purchased in the camp before Cuddalore, and which he had ridden ever since, as long as it was capable of carrying him; and now that its strength failed, he caused it to be tended and fed with the utmost care and regularity. Nay, his attachment to the animal was such, that, finding it unable to bear the fatigue of a removal, he literally pensioned it off when he himself quitted the district; and his grief was unfeigned when he heard that, his servants having withdrawn it by mistake, it died upon the road. So it was with a flock of goats which he kept in Canara, to supply his family with milk, and in watching whose gambols he took great delight. On no account whatever would he permit the peons to drive them away during the storm, from beneath the verandas, asserting that the goats had as much right to shelter as any persons about his cutcherry, and that none should presume to deprive them of it.

One more specimen of the habits of this extraordinary man may be given, ere I close the present chapter. Besides his favourite amusements, swimming, billiards, quoits, and fives, he possessed a curious predilection for throwing stones, of which Mr. Read has furnished us with the following whimsical illustration. "Having got completely wet on one occasion," says he in his MS. Journal, "during a morning-

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ride, I wrote him a note, requesting that he would wait breakfast. He returned for answer—'I will wait ten minutes, which, in my opinion, is enough for any man to put on his clothes.' When I joined him, I perceived a stone in his hand, and inquired what he meant to do with it. 'I am just waiting,' answered he, 'till all the Bramins go away, that I may have one good throw at that dog upon the wall;'* and added, 'whenever I *wanted to play myself*, in this or any other manner, in the Baramahl, I used to go either into Macleod's or Graham's division.'"

* It is just to add, that the dog of Canara is a wild animal, partaking of the nature of a beast of prey; yet such was Major Munro's respect for the prejudices of the Bramins, that he would not, while they stood by, violently drive even it from his premises.

CHAPTER V

Removal to the Ceded Districts.—Letters from Mr. Webbe, Lord Clive, General Wellesley; and general Correspondence.

MAJOR MUNRO had now superintended the affairs of Canara rather more than fourteen months, during the whole of which period he underwent, both in body and mind, extreme and incessant fatigue. From twelve to sixteen hours of every day had been devoted to public business; yet his health, so far from giving way, seems to have improved; and he at length enjoyed the unspeakable satisfaction of finding, that his exertions had not been made in vain. Instead of a wild and disorderly province, overrun with banditti, and full of refractory chiefs, Canara became, comparatively speaking, tranquil; the revenues were collected without difficulty; the condition of the cultivators was seen daily to improve; law and justice were administered with regularity; and the inhabitants at large were happy. A petty disturbance would indeed, from time to time, occur; and a robber chief would occasionally sweep away the property of a few peaceable families; but the former seldom extended beyond the bounds of a single village, and the latter in no instance failed to meet the punishment which he deserved. In a word, the principles of good government were established; the people recognized, and submitted to them; and matters were in a train where, though the highest abilities only could have shaped it out, they might, by ordinary diligence and attention, be preserved. Major Munro felt this; and conscious that he had performed the task which had been, sorely against his will, imposed upon him, he considered himself at liberty to apply for a removal to some more agreeable station.

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It will be in the recollection of the reader, that soon after the fall of Tippoo, the British Government in India began to negotiate a new treaty of alliance with the Nizam. By the terms of this agreement, the British Government pledged itself that no power or state whatever should commit, with impunity, any act of unprovoked aggression or hostility upon the territories of its ally; and, to enable the Company efficiently to fulfil this engagement, two battalions of sepoys, with a regiment of Native cavalry, were permanently added to the subsidiary force to be maintained by the state of Hyderabad. To secure the regular payment of this augmented force again, the Nizam was prevailed upon to commute his monthly subsidy for a cession of territory, and made over in perpetuity to the Company all that he had acquired by the treaties of Seringapatam in 1792, and of Mysore in 1799. By this means, the Balaghaut, south of the Kistna and Toombuddra rivers, together with the Talook of Adoni, &c. passed into the possession of the British Government; and two-thirds of Panganoor, with a portion of Goodiput, being afterwards added, the whole obtained the general appellation of the Ceded Districts.

Than the province thus acquired by the East India Company, there was no part of the Peninsula less acquainted, either by experience or tradition, with the blessings of a settled government. Containing within its bounds the city of Bijanaggur, the capital of the great Hindoo empire, it had for centuries been the theatre of constant wars; first, between the Hindoo and Mussulman kings of Bijapoor and Hyderabad; and afterwards, when the latter submitted to Aurengzebe, between the Mogul government and the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Annagoondy, or Bijanaggur, the Rajah of Mysore, and numberless other petty princes. Such a state of things could not fail of inuring the inhabitants in general to the use of arms; and the feeble authority of the Nizam, when it came to be extended over them, instead of diminishing, only increased their turbulence.

"The collection of the revenue being entrusted entirely to poligars, zemindars, and potails, each of these became the leader of a little army, and fortifying his village, carried on destructive feuds with the villages immediately contiguous to him. Bands of robbers, likewise, wandered through the open country, plundering and putting to death such travellers as refused to submit to their exactions; whilst the Government, conscious of its own weakness, scarcely attempted to interpose for the prevention of evils by which it was itself a principal sufferer.

It is computed, that in the year 1800, when the Ceded Districts were transferred to the Company's rule, there were scattered through them, exclusively of the Nizam's troops, about thirty thousand armed peons, the whole of whom, under the command of eighty poligars, subsisted by rapine, and committed every where the greatest excesses.

Of the motives which induced Major Munro to apply for removal into such a district, it is not very easy to speak with confidence. Perhaps he was ambitious of the honour of restoring order to a country, from the management of which most persons would have shrunk. Perhaps he anticipated such advantages, in a pecuniary point of view, as would enable him to return at no distant period to England; or perhaps, which is the most probable conjecture of the three, his continued dislike of Canara led him to desire, at all hazards, a change of residence. Be this as it may, he did solicit the Government to be entrusted with the care of the Ceded Districts, almost as soon as he learned that the cession was about to be made.

It was not without a good deal of hesitation and reluctance that Major Munro's request was granted. His services in Canara were so fully appreciated, that the Madras authorities entertained some dread of removing him; indeed, there is strong ground for asserting, that no consideration whatever, besides their knowledge of the great difficulties to be overcome in the adjustment of the new territory, would have pre-

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vailed upon them to sanction his resignation of the collectorate of Canara. This however, united with a conviction that there was not perhaps another individual in their service competent to discharge the delicate trust which he voluntarily assumed, at length determined them; and Major Munro was, in October 1800, removed to the Ceded Districts. But the province which he now resigned was not again given in charge to one man. As if aware that another Munro was not to be looked for, Government divided Canara into two collectorates, appointing to one of them Mr. Alexander Read, of whom mention has already been made, and giving up the other to the guidance of Mr. Ravenshaw.

Were I to attempt a connected and regular history of all Major Munro's public and private proceedings for the space of the seven years in which he held office in the Ceded Districts, I should swell the present memoir far beyond the bounds within which it must necessarily be confined. Though less uncomfortable perhaps than during his sojourn in Canara, he can hardly be said to have been at any moment less busy; and his labours, at least for a time, were attended by personal dangers, more imminent than had on any previous occasion beset him. When he took possession of his province, he found it, as has been stated, swarming with armed men, composed partly of the Nizam's troops, now in a state of mutiny, and partly of the followers of turbulent poligars. Three months were expended ere the former could be expelled, and nearly a year expired ere the latter were reduced, or the country placed in any degree of security. In the mean while, and indeed during the first four years of his residence, Major Munro never dwelt in a house, but was continually in motion from place to place, till he had repeatedly traversed the entire extent of his district. On these occasions his home was in his tent, and, strange as it may appear to the common reader, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that he travelled through this wild and barbarous country unattended by any guard of sepoys. But Major Munro was well acquainted

with the character of the natives of India. He knew that among the rudest of them, there is a sort of instinctive reverence of constituted authorities, which, for the most part, keeps them from resisting or offering violence to their rulers; and, anxious above all things to secure their confidence, he took the most effectual method of doing so, by exhibiting unbounded confidence in them. Never was experiment attended with happier results. By mixing among the people, divested of the parade of state, he acquired such information as no man but himself could have obtained; and by teaching them to look up to him as a functionary fearless, because perfectly just, he gradually and surely reconciled them to a regular government.

But it was not by such obstacles only that Major Munro found his attempts at improvement impeded. In 1803 a drought prevailed, which continued with unabating severity throughout 1804, and produced, as in India drought always produces, the most serious evils. The ground was parched up; there was no grass in the pastures; straw was enormously dear; a great proportion of the cattle perished; and many of the poorer inhabitants were forced to quit their homes. By the most unceasing and judicious exertions, Major Munro not only alleviated a temporary distress, but saved the country from the horrors of a famine which then desolated the Nizam's dominions, whilst he continued, at the same time to secure for the Company's treasure a revenue such as none besides himself would have dreamed of collecting. Nor were other and lesser grievances wanting. His friend Mr. Cockburn retired from the Revenue Board, and new commissioners were appointed, from whom he certainly did not receive the efficient and friendly support which Mr. Cockburn had constantly afforded him. There was a cry for more treasure; there was an unaccountable anxiety to introduce a permanent settlement, long before the country was ripe to receive it; and even the style of his official letters was objected to, as abrupt and disrespectful. Against these com-

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plicated difficulties, Major Munro manfully bore up; and the official documents inserted in the Appendix serve to show that, when in 1807 he retired from office, he had achieved a perfect conquest over all opposition, and rendered, both to his employers and to the people of the Ceded Districts, services the most inestimable.

The selection from his correspondence which I have judged it expedient to give in the following chapter, is short; not because there are any letters written at this period of his history destitute of value, but because, being chiefly official, and relating to matters of revenue and police, they are not likely to interest very deeply the ordinary reader. A few however, even of these, are inserted, chiefly with a view to illustrate the system upon which he acted; whilst from several, which contain sketches of the habits and condition of the people, large extracts have been made. Some again will be found to treat of domestic matters; others to touch, as heretofore, upon the transactions of the day; and one or two of a third description have been added, in order that his mode of communication with friends and acquaintances at a distance, may be known.

Besides these, I have introduced several letters from his correspondents, more particularly from General Wellesley, illustrative of various points in Indian history; whilst here, as elsewhere, the only arrangement attempted has been to give them in their chronological order.

The following from Mr. Webbe,* Chief Secretary to Government, containing an inclosure from Lord Clive, then Governor of Madras, will explain both the circumstances under which Major Munro entered upon his new charge, and the estimate which was formed of his services and talents.

* Mr. Webbe, like Mr. Cockburn, was one of those civilians who permitted no consideration to weigh with him besides attention to the public good. He was a warm admirer and firm supporter of Sir Thomas Munro, during the continuance of both in office.

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Fort St. George, 27th Sept. 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

THE answer to your last letter you will find in the inclosed private note from Lord Clive to me; and as his Lordship has said so much, I (contrary to your maxim) do not think it necessary to say more,

The time however is drawing near when we may expect the final ratification of the new treaty; and I send this by express to apprize you, that you will probably be appointed Superintendent of the whole Ceded Districts, with four civil assistants, as collectors of such portions as you may appoint them. The assistants may be, Mr. Cochrane, Clive's head-assistant, who is master of Persian and Hindostanee; Mr. Thackeray, who has received the reward for the Gentoo language; Mr. Stodart, who has been a long time assistant to one of our Northern collectors; and some other *undubashed* person, if I can find him. These gentlemen will be put on a better footing than the assistants in the Baramahl, under Read; but your allowances must be curtailed, in consequence of your pertinacious resistance to the authority of a regular government, and in conformity to that noble contempt of wealth in which you affect to imitate the old snarler in the tub: Provide accordingly, my good man, for your early departure to the Upper Regions; and I hope that you will not require Mercury to conduct you thither. I stipulate, however, that you leave a sufficient number of good men and true, to enable Read to conduct the affairs of Canara after your departure.

Remember, you will be required to move at a short notice; and don't let me find you casting any "longing, lingering looks behind" at a bit of a back-yard, with two peppercorns and a beetle-nut tree. I conclude that you will not get the resolutions of Government on your letter of 31st of May from the Revenue Board, in less than a month. Know then by these presents, that you are authorized to grant the whole extent of the remission of land-rent recommended by yourself, provided you shall judge it to be necessary, after a considerable remission of duties and customs, and provided you shall be able to make it appear that you do not go snacks with the innocent Gentoos. All the inland duties, except the halet, to be abolished, and the sea-customs regulated in the manner of the Madras customs, except on rice, which is to pay one Bah' pagoda per cerge. Set to work, Sir, and expedite, for expedition is the soul of business; and you boast, I see, of what you can do when you begin stoutly.

Yours truly, D. WEBBE.

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LORD CLIVE'S ENCLOSURE.

DEAR WEBBE,

I HAVE read Munro's letter with attention, and am quite satisfied that the wishes of so excellent a fellow and collector ought to be cheerfully complied with; and therefore consent to your informing him, he will, volens the Governor-General, be appointed with assistants to the collectorship of the Ceded Countries, as soon as the transaction is completed; and that his time of moving to his new station shall be his own. Ever yours,

CLIVE.

Pray tell him my desire of detaining him on the Malabar coast has arisen from my opinion and experience of his superior management and usefulness; but that his arguments have convinced me that his labours in the Cistoombuddra and Kistna province will be more advantageous than his remaining in the steam of the Malabar coast, although I should have thought that favourable to a garden.

TO HIS BROTHER.

[*Announcing his removal from Canara to the Ceded Districts.*]

Harpenhilly, 22nd November, 1800.

IT is now a long time since I heard any thing of you,—not less, I believe, than two months. I have been removed from Canara; so that your letters, in order to find me, must in future be directed to Bangalore. Though I have nothing to say to that place, the post-office people there are acquainted with my movements, and will forward them accordingly. You will have heard that a treaty has been concluded with the Nizam, by which he cedes to us for ever all his possessions to the southward of the Toombuddra and Kistna, as a tunkhah for the expense of the subsidiary force employed with him. The bargain is a good one with respect to territory, as it improves our frontier; but with respect to revenue, I do not imagine that we shall be any great gainers. The countries will not yield any thing like the sums entered in the schedule of 1792 by Tippoo, because he overrated all the more northern districts from the certainty of their falling to the Nizam's share; and Gurrumcondah and Multuvar, in the hope of his being able to prevail upon us to take them; but as we insisted on having the Baramahl, which was then undervalued, we now get all the losing districts, which will balance the advan-

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tages we gained by the Baramahl, Canara, and Coimbatore. We have now a great empire in the southern part of India; and if we can only keep the French out at the general peace, it will, after remaining as long undisturbed as Bengal has now been, yield us a very noble revenue, drawn with ease from willing subjects. But before such a desirable change can be effected, we shall have to remove many powerful and turbulent poligars, and many petty ones of modern origin, who have taken advantage of the troubles of the times, in order to withhold their rents for a few years, and then to declare themselves independent. The reduction of these vagabonds, who are a kind of privileged highwaymen, will render us much more able to resist our external enemies; for, in all our late wars, we have been obliged to employ a great number of troops, to secure internal tranquillity, instead of sending them to augment the army in the field.

Your affectionate brother,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following Code of Instructions issued by Major Munro at this time, to one of his assistants in the Ceded Districts, possesses too much merit to be withheld. It exhibits a just view of the principles by which the writer's public conduct was regulated; whilst for precision and clearness of detail, it deserves to be taken as a perfect model of official correspondence.

WILLIAM THACKERAY, ESQ. COLLECTOR OF ADONI.

Cuddapah, 17th February, 1801.

SIR,

The district of Adoni being now placed under your immediate management, the instructions to Amildars, of which I inclose you a copy, will give you a general idea of the principles by which the settlements and realization of the revenue ought to be guided. Adoni having been for many years past in a state of anarchy; the inhabitants having been plundered, not only by the revenue officers and Zemindars, but by every person who chose to pay a nuzzeranah for the privilege of extorting money from them; and the heads of villages having on the same terms been permitted, and even encouraged, to carry on a continual predatory warfare against one another, it cannot be expected that the change of government will all at once be followed by the resto-

ration of order. A road has however been opened to the attainment of this desirable object, by depriving the poligars and zemindars of all undue authority; and every kind of outrage will by degrees be completely repressed, by seizing and punishing the offenders. Your military Peons are fully adequate to this purpose; for it is not probable that the disturbances will ever go beyond the revival of former disputes between neighbouring villages, and the renewal of their petty depredations. On such occasions, whatever the number of the insurgents may be, you should never hesitate in sending out your peons to apprehend the ringleaders; for a very small party, acting under the orders of Government, has seldom much difficulty in dispersing the largest body of people tumultuously assembled.

2. There is no poligar in Adoni capable of exciting any great commotion. Lalmeneni, by being confined to his hereditary district of Pondikonda, from which he draws but a trifling income, has no means of amassing money, and consequently none of raising men to support him, in disturbing the tranquillity of the country. He has no claim to the inheritances of Kapitral or Kotkenda. Both districts were resumed by the Nizam's Government on the death of the last poligar. The management of them, but merely as teshildar, was given to Lalmeneni in 1797, and his first step was to withhold his kist, and break out into rebellion: he was reduced with difficulty, and restored on condition of paying the expenses of the expedition, which he did by plundering the inhabitants. His removal from a station which he was so little qualified to fill, and to which he had no right, was doing him no injustice; and though he is no doubt dissatisfied, it is not at all likely that he will venture to excite any disturbance, because he must perceive that he is incapable of making any resistance, and that it could only end in the loss of the little patrimony he now enjoys.

3. As there is not the slightest ground to suppose that there is any number of disaffected people in Adoni, your amildars ought to act with firmness, and not suffer themselves to be alarmed by every idle rumour of insurrection to which the inhabitants can have no motive. And any failure in this respect, as it must render their authority weak and inefficient, ought to be regarded as a sufficient cause for their removal. Every application from them for an increase of military peons must be rejected. Those now in the province are sufficient for common

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occasions; and should more at any time be required, the necessary force will be furnished on your writing to me.

4. The advanced period of the season has prevented me from going farther into detail, than what is called a mozawar, or village-settlement; and as it has been made in haste, it is no doubt in some instances too high, and in others too low. This irregularity is, in a great measure, the consequence of a change of government, as the shanbogues and potails take advantage of it, to bring forward false accounts, in order to lower their rents; but as it is not necessary to make out your kistbundy for the Board until the whole of the Ceded Countries shall have been settled, the Amildars and your own cutcherry will have an interval of some months to correct whatever is wrong. For this purpose, it is necessary that they should go to the principal villages and make their inquiries on the spot. Wherever it appears that the rent is evidently too heavy, it must be reduced, but not until the whole deficiency has been ascertained, nor until four kists have been paid; for if the rayets discover your intentions sooner, they will in every village, even where they are most lightly assessed, make poverty a pretence for withholding their rents. I am not anxious to add to the jumma every decrease in the rents of villages which may have been obtained by false accounts, because it is not likely it can be considerable; and by being left to the rayets, it will enable them to extend their cultivation the ensuing year, and us to bring it to account with advantage. The amildars will send you statements of the loss and gain in every village; that is to say, of the excess of the rents of land in cultivation above, or their deficiency below the present settlement: and when the whole is completed, a copy in Mahratta must be sent to me.

5. The amount of the present settlement, after deducting the receipts under the late Governor, on account of the current year, is to be collected in six kists, beginning in January and ending in June,—the first and last kists are to be each ten per cent., and the four intermediate kists are to be each twenty per cent. of the whole. The potails are severally answerable for the rents of their own villages, and jointly for those of the whole district. Their settlements with the inferior rayets are made partly in kind, but chiefly in money: they are bound by their present muchulkas not to exact more than the usual cundayun, or money-rent, on pain of being fined, and to give a statement of their set-

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tlements, both in money and kind, to the Amildar. If their settlements exceed in every village the settlement of the sirkar, the whole of the surplus is their own. If they exceed it in some villages, and fall short in assessment on those villages in which the excess is, and if, after this, any profit remains, it goes to the potails. If the total excess is less than the total deficiency, then a reduction in the sirkar settlement, equal to the difference, must be made previous to the making out of the kistbundy. If, after all, losses should arise from the failure or flight of rayets, the potail must himself make good their rents. It is not however to be expected that he will be able to do so in every instance, for his circumstances are often so low, that were we to exact the rigorous performance of his engagements, it would involve him in ruin, and the revenue would next year lose the rent of his lands, which would be left uncultivated. The demand against him should never be carried to such a height as to injure him materially. The teshildar will be able to judge from information, to what extent he is capable of discharging the balance; and such part of it as he is unable to make good, must be levied by a second assessment, or tufreek, upon the moza. When the amount is so great that it cannot be easily paid by the moza, it must be levied on the magany. The capability of mozas to make good balances is so various, that no fixed rule can be laid down for determining the exact sum of the second assessment; but I think it never ought to be more than ten per cent. of the jumma, though in many cases it must be less. Whenever it exceeds ten per cent. the difference must be assessed from the magany.

6. All second assessments must be deferred to the last kist, and a kulwar statement of the loss must be transmitted by the Amildar, and approved by you before he makes the tufreek.

7. The potails collect the kists from the cultivating rayets, by means of the toties and tunkdars, or kolkars; every rayet pays his money in presence of the shanbogue, who enters it into his accounts, detailing the different coins of which it is composed. When the whole kist is collected, the shanbogue and potail carry it to the teshildar's cutcherry, from whence it is remitted to your treasury. Receipts, specifying the various coins delivered, must be given through all the gradations of collection; that is to say, by the shanbogue and potail, to the rayet,—by the teshildar to the potail, and by you to the teshildar. This regulation must be enforced by fine or dismission, in cases of neglect, for, if not, every thing will fall into confusion.

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8. Whatever light or base coins of the village kist are rejected by the teshildar's shroff, must be made good by the potail himself, and not by the rayets; and, in the same manner, whatever light or base coins of the teshildar's kist are rejected at your cutcherry, must be made good by his shroff, and not by the potails, because he forwards them either from negligence or fraud, for both of which he ought to be accountable.

9. All collections must come direct to your treasury. The teshildar must never be permitted to withhold any part under pretext of the distress of the district servants, &c. from the want of pay. Should the exigence even be pressing, no deviation must ever be admitted; for it is better a temporary inconvenience should be suffered, than that a road should be opened for peculation and disorder.

10. No servant, from a Peon upwards, must be dismissed but by your order, and no new one entertained till he has appeared at your cutcherry, and been registered by your authority. It is of the utmost importance that you should insist on the most scrupulous observance of this regulation; for it is only by following it up that you can obtain information of what is doing by the revenue servants around you, and convince the inhabitants that it is not them, but you, who manage the country. After once giving you an establishment of servants, I shall not, in future, interfere with any removals or appointments which you may think proper to make. If I find peculation or abuse of power proved against any of your servants, I shall request you to dismiss him, but I shall always leave it to you to fill up the vacancy. Though you ought never to pass over the slightest degree of peculation in any person in office under you, yet it is necessary that you should proceed with caution, both in order to let the arrangements of a new government acquire some consistency, and to guard yourself against misrepresentation; for old animosities, jealousies, the hope of supplanting a rival, and many other improper motives, frequently urge men to bring forward unfounded charges, supported by crowds of false witnesses. The common revenue-Peon ought never to be dismissed without the fullest proof of misbehaviour; for though he is not, strictly speaking, a hereditary servant, he is generally so,—and this consideration renders him so trustworthy, that I do not remember a single instance of any one of them, who was a native of the country, ever making away with money committed to his charge. The nature of their employment gives them an opportunity of knowing most of the abuses

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practised by the higher revenue servants; and the Teshildars, on that account, frequently complain of them, in the hope of being permitted to supply their places with people of their own choosing.

11. I have ordered a temporary resumption of all enaums, for the purpose of examining whether the whole have been duly authorized by the Sirkar, or only a part. Whatever has been surreptitiously obtained will be re-annexed to the sirkar-lands, and the rest given up. The enaums, pensions, russooms, &c. which I suppose ought to revert for ever to the Sirkar, are all such as have not been granted under the sunnud of the Nizam, or some of the former princes of Hyderabad, or their ministers; or under that of Bassaulet Jung, or Mohaubet Jung; and all such, as having been granted under those sunnuds, had however been resumed previous to the Company's Government. Enaums, &c. though granted originally by Amildars, or inferior revenue-officers, may be continued, provided that they have been held forty years without interruption; for so long a possession may be allowed to constitute a kind of prescriptive right. In all doubtful cases, your decision ought to be in favour of the enaumdar.

12. The moyen zabitah of your cutcherry is the limit of expenditure on that head. The Serishtadars, and even the Moonshees, ought not to receive the full amount opposite to their names, till you see, from the experience of a year or two, how far they may become entitled to it by their services.

13. When the cutcherry is completed, it will consist of two branches; one Hindowi, and the other Canari. Whatever may be the merits of the two Serishtadars, you must, apparently at least, repose the same degree of confidence in both, and employ them exactly in the same manner, by hearing their respective opinions, and adopting that which appears most judicious, and sometimes rejecting both where you see cause. You will keep alive emulation between them, which will urge them to exert themselves in trying who can bring forward most information, and render himself most useful. Your Moonshees should be people unconnected with either of them, in order to furnish you with the greater number of sources from whence to draw your knowledge of revenue matters; even although they should be capable of giving you much instruction, they will at any rate serve as a check upon your Serishtadars. It is by a general and unreserved communication, not merely with your own Cutcherry, but with such of your Teshildars, or inferior servants, as appear to

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be men of capacity, and by receiving all opinions, and being guided implicitly by none, that you can restrain every person in office within the limit of his duty, guard the Rayets from oppression, and the public revenue from defalcation, and preserve in your own hands a perfect control over the country. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO, Collector.

The subjoined extract from a letter to Mr. Cockburn, gives a concise, but true description of the effects of Mussulman rule.

Cuddapah, 25th February, 1801.

THE ten years of Mogul Government in Cuddapah have been almost as destructive as so many years of war; and this last year, a mutinous unpaid army was turned loose during the sowing season, to collect their pay from the villages. They drove off, and sold the cattle, extorted money by torture from every man who fell into their hands, and plundered the houses and shops of those who fled; by which means the usual cultivation has been greatly diminished.

In subduing the refractory poligars, of which notice has already been taken, Major Munro was largely indebted to the zeal and exertions of Major-General Campbell, an old and meritorious officer, who had command of the troops in his district. It very rarely happened, that these freebooters offered any serious resistance, or, if they did, that they were not immediately defeated; but the chief of a place called Ternikull chanced on one occasion to repulse a detachment sent against him, which was at once too weak in point of numbers, and otherwise unprepared, to carry a strong fort. An extremely illiberal outcry was raised at the Presidency, as soon as the intelligence of the affair came in; and Mr. Cockburn having applied to Colonel Munro for correct information, the following manly defence of General Campbell's conduct was called forth.

Anantpoor, 24th April, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I RECEIVED your letter without date, and lose no time in contradicting the strange report about Ternikull. It was ex-

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pressly upon my requisition that General Campbell marched against the place. He had heard nothing of the outrage committed; and it was only in consequence of the receipt of my official letter urging him to act without delay, that he sent off the first detachment.

This and every other expedition were undertaken at my request: he had no business to consult me farther. In the mode of attack, he of course followed his own judgment. Had I even had a right to have given an opinion upon the plan of operations, I do not believe that I would have wished to alter the General's own. I thought, like every body else, that Strachan's detachment was fully equal to the enterprise.

As to the loss of lives, it is a thing that must be looked for in all military affairs. On this occasion, it was probably owing to the too great ardour of the dragoons in attempting to force the gate, before the infantry came up. But this kind of spirit among the inferior officers and privates, though it sometimes carries them too far, is the soul of an army.

General Campbell had no battering guns; he had, therefore, no alternative in the second attack, but to escalade. The three guns, afterwards drawn from Gootty, by which the breach was made, were not supposed to be serviceable, and were only at last used from the extreme necessity of the case. The loss is, no doubt, to be regretted but cannot with any justice be imputed to the General, whose conduct, both at Ternikull and every other place, deserves great praise. Taking the whole of his operations from first to last, it will be found that there is no instance in India of so many poligars having been reduced with so little loss. He met, it is true, with little opposition; but this was owing to his having taken his measures so well, as to leave them no time to assemble followers sufficient to make resistance.

The Gentoo translation of the regulations will answer for the Ceded Districts; for even in Harpenhilly, the most Canarine part of them, a great proportion of the inhabitants understood Gentoo. You will however want Canari, for Canara, as nobody there understands Gentoo. Even Canari itself is a strange language, introduced by the conquerors from Bijanaggur; and though commonly, it is far from being universally understood by the inhabitants. From Necliseram to the Chandergeery river, no language is understood but the Malabars of that coast; from Chandergeery to Barkoor, the native language is Toolawi; but Canari is also common from Barkoor to Gokurn; the Konkain

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Mahratta is the first, and Canari the second language. In Ankolah, Konkain is the only language. Canari is the prevailing language in the southern, and Mahratta in the northern part of Soondah.*

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*Descriptive of the country.—His own proceedings.*]

Kalwapilli, 3rd May, 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I AM now writing in my tent on the banks of the Pennar, about fourteen miles east of Calliundroog, which place I left this morning. I am on my way to Tarputty, where I hope I shall be able to halt for a few weeks. The country I am travelling through is more destitute of trees than any part of Scotland I ever saw; for from Pennacandah, by Gootty and Adoni, to the Kistna, we scarcely meet with one in twenty miles, and throughout that whole space there is nowhere a clump of fifty. This nakedness, however, is not, like your's in Scotland, the fault of the soil; for it is every where good, and capable of producing grain and trees in abundance. It is, I believe, to be attributed to the levelness of the country having always made it the scene of the operations of great armies of horse. The branches have been cut down to feed the elephants and camels, which always accompany such armies in great multitudes, and the trunks to boil the grain for the horses; and a long continuance of oppressive government has extinguished every idea of forming new plantations. While journeying over these dreary places, I have often wished for some of the friendly groves of the Baramahl, or the dark forests of Soondah, to shelter me from the burning heat of the sun. The average height of the thermometer in my tent, for the whole of the last month, was 107° at two p. m. and 78° at sunrise. At this instant, half-past one p. m., it is 98°, yet the air feels pleasant and cool; for there was a heavy shower four days ago, and the sky has been cloudy and the wind high ever since. It is now whistling through the canvass, and makes me almost fancy myself at sea, scudding before a strong tropical gale. My way of life naturally turns my attention to the weather; but the mercury has been more than usual in my head to-day, in

* This is not less true than singular; perhaps there is not a province in India where so many languages, all of them written as well as oral, prevail.

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consequence of reading in a newspaper some remarks upon the probable causes of the yellow fever in America. Among these are reckoned the prodigious heat of 96°, and the sudden changes from heat to cold, which are sometimes from 30 to 40 degrees in the course of a few days; but these causes produce no such effects here. I have not seen the mercury at noon under 96° for these three months past; and as to sudden extremes, the thermometer, from the beginning of November till the end of January, usually stands at 50° at sunrise and 80° at noon. In Soondah the heat at noon is the same; but it is often under 40° in the mornings. I have seen it as low as 34. I am convinced, however, that the fever I had two years ago, though there was nothing yellow in it, arose from my exposing myself to the morning air; for I always rise about half an hour before the sun, and usually walk in front of my tent without hat or coat for an hour, which is the coldest in all the twenty-four. I was often so cold, on sitting down to breakfast, that I could scarely hold any thing in my hand. That fever has now been long gone, and I am at present as well as ever I was in my life. My sight, if I do not flatter myself, as men who are growing old often do, is better than it was a dozen of years ago; for I can read by candlelight without any inconvenience, which I could not do without great pain for many years after I had an inflammation in my eyes at Amboor, in 1789; but whether the salutary change has been occasioned by fever, or by my breathing a moist atmosphere, like that of my native land, on the Malabar coast, where my clothes were hardly ever perfectly dry, or by my having unknowingly inhaled some of Dr. Beddoes's dephlogisticated nitrous gas, I have not yet fully ascertained. I have seldom, I believe, given you so much detail respecting myself; but you must lay this to the charge of those who killed Tippoo. Had he been spared, he would have occupied the chief place in all my pages to you. Erskine often complained of his constant appearance in all my letters. When I write to her next, I must introduce the Nizam in his room. I doubt however that he will live so long. He has, at any rate, lived long enough to transfer all his possessions south of the Toombuddra and of the Kistna, after its junction with the Toombuddra, to the Company, on condition of their defraying all charges attending the subsidiary force now with him.

I have at last heard from Messrs. Harington, Burnaby, and Cockburn, on the subject of the remittance of a bill for 1000*l.*

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sterling, to clear your house in the Stockwell. In August, I shall remit the remaining sum due upon the house, and also 200*l.* sterling, in order to augment my annual remittance to 400*l.* sterling. As my mother is so fond of the country, and as a garden would probably contribute to her health, she ought certainly to be under no concern about the trifling expense a country-house may occasion, in addition to one in town. I therefore hope that you will draw on Colt for whatever it may cost, and let me know the amount, that I may add it to the 400*l.* which I mean should go entirely to your town expenses, and that you will likewise inform me what other debts you may have besides the mortgage on the house, that I may discharge them, and relieve you at once from the vexation and anxiety to which you have so long been exposed. My next letter must be to my mother.

Your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO COLONEL READ.

Hundi Arrantpoor, 16th June, 1801.

DEAR READ,

I HAVE often been thinking of writing to you, but I have led such a life these two last years, that I have been obliged to give up all private writing, and I should hardly have begun again just now, if your old Gamashah, Hunmunt Row, had not made his appearance the other day as an Umedwar, and told me that Narnapah, by the blessing of God, and your Dowlet, were in good health, which I thought you would still be glad to hear: he says that both of them were *heyran* and *perishan* with the climate of Madras, and that Narnapah got chopped lips and a sore mouth, and slavered about a pucka sear a day. The old gentleman is now with Mr. Stratton, investigating the state of the revenue in the Calastri and Venkutghury Pollams. Your friend, Alexander Read, who is now Collector of the Northern division of Canara, has, I imagine, long ago described that country to you. To a revenue man, it is by far the most interesting country in India, and had it not been for the confinement during the five months' monsoon, I never would have left it. All land is private property, except such estates as may have fallen to the Sirkar from the failure of heirs, or the expulsion of the owners by oppression, under the Mysore Government. By means of a variety of Sunnuds, I traced back the existence of landed property above a thousand years, and it has probably been in the same state from the earliest ages; the inha-

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bitants having so great an interest in the soil, naturally adopted the means of preserving their respective estates, by correct title-deeds and other writings. Besides the usual revenue accounts, all private transfers of land, and all public Sunnuds respecting it, were registered by the Curnums, who, as accountants, are much superior to our best Mutsiddies. In consequence of this practice, there is still a great mass of ancient and authentic records in Canara. I made a large collection of Sunnuds, with the view of endeavouring to discover when land first became private property; but I was obliged to leave them all behind and abandon my design. Several of them were reported to be older than Shaliwahan, but I had not time to ascertain this fact: among the very few that were translated, the oldest was, I believe, in the eighth century; from which it appeared, that there was then no Sirkar land; for the Sunnud, which was for the endowment of a pagoda, states that the government rent of such and such estates is granted to the Bramins, but the land itself is not granted, because it belonged to the landlord. All Enaumdars, therefore, in Canara, are merely pensioners, who have an assignment on a particular estate; they have not even a right to residence upon the estates from which they draw their subsistence. Were they to attempt to establish themselves, the owner would eject them with very little ceremony. The antiquity of landed property, and the sharing it equally among all the male children, has thrown it into a vast number of hands. The average Sirkar rents of estates is perhaps twenty or twenty-five pagodas, but there are some which pay near a thousand. The average of the Sirkar rent is about one-fourth of the gross produce; but, on many estates, not more than one-sixth. Litigations are endless in a country where there are so many proprietors; and Punchayets are continually sitting to decide on the rights of the various claimants. Landed property being thus the subject of discussion among all classes of Rayets, every thing relating to it is as well understood as in England. The small landlords are probably as comfortable as in any country in Europe. The never-failing monsoon, and the plentiful harvests of rice, far beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, secure them from ever feeling the distress of scarcity. Rents are therefore easily collected—no complaints about inability—no absconding at the close of the year. Even after all the disturbances of a civil war, I had not a single application for remission, except from one or two villages near Jumalabad, which had been twice plundered by the

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garrison; and in this case they paid the money before making the demand, saying, that unless it was returned, they could not replace their stock of cattle, so as to carry on to the usual extent the cultivation of the ensuing year. I often felt a pleasure, which I never have experienced in any other part of India, in seeing myself at the time of the Jummabundy, under the fly of a tent, among some large trees, surrounded by four or five hundred landlords, all as independent in their circumstances as your yeomen: I could not help observing on these occasions the difference that good feeding makes on men as well as on other animals. The landlords of Canara are, I am convinced, fatter in general than those of England. I was sometimes tempted to think, on looking at many who had large estates, and particularly at the Potails, that they had been appointed on account of their weight. Many of them were quite oppressed by the heat, when I felt no inconvenience from it; and they used to sit with nothing on but their blue Surat aprons, their bodies naked, and sweating like a corpulent Briton just hoisted from a Masulah boat on the beach at Madras; but their labourers were as miserable-looking peasants as any in the Carnatic. In Canara there is already established to our hands all that the Bengal system, supposing it to succeed according to our wishes, can produce in a couple of centuries—a wide diffusion of property, and a permanent certain revenue, not only from the wealth of the inhabitants, but also farther secured by the saleableness of land. What a wide difference between that province and our late acquisitions here, where land is of even less value, and the Rayets more unsettled than in the Baramahl. You will be surprised to hear of the revenue being so much below the schedule of Ninety-two. This has been occasioned by the ravages of the allied armies of horse and Brinjarries in Lord Cornwallis's war; by the oppression of the Nizam's Government, and by their having been overrated. The settlement this year is one million one hundred and two thousand pagodas, exclusive of village servants. It will probably be twelve and a half lacs next year, and may in four or five years get to fourteen and a half or fifteen lacs. Brynyenpilli continues in Jagheer to Assud Alli, and Canoul is to pay through the Nizam for two years, and then be transferred to us. This is at his own request; and I suspect that when he is made over to us, he will not be able to pay his two lacs of rupees peshcush. The country is overrun with Poligars: I have between thirty and forty who send me Vakeels. They are not confined to one corner, but

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are in every district. I am trying, with the help of Dugald Campbell, General of Division here, to get rid of as many as possible; but it will take some campaigns to clear them out. Were I to labour as much as ever you did for seven years, there would not be so much order and system as you had in the Baramahl the first year. This reflection makes me sometimes wish that I had never entered into the revenue line at all. All the drudgery you suffered was comfort to what I am obliged to undergo, for without it there would be no getting on. You had a small society in your family, and occasional visitors, besides your gala-days, when all the society were assembled; and you had the cheering prospect of the country improving under you—but I have none of all this. I have not had one holiday since I entered Canara, going out after four o'clock to dine and escape a night cutcherry was the greatest indulgence I ever had there: I have still less here, and I see no chance of getting more. I am usually seated before eight in the morning, and never stir till sunset, often not till dark, besides a meeting to hear letters at night. This is not for one or two weeks, but for months together; and if it has not made me blind, as you said you were, it has done worse, it has given me the staggers, for I often reel when I get up as if I were drunk. As to company, I don't see an European in three months. I have got four deputies, but they are at Cumbum, Adwani, &c. their different divisions. Some of them will do, but others are good for nothing but to exercise my patience, which is nearly exhausted. I am very sorry I ever left the Baramahl, and should be very happy to be there again at this instant as your assistant, receiving a letter of twenty sheets of queries to answer. James George is the only old stander there; he has made some new erections, and completed his arrangements by taking a wife—Miss Johnson, daughter of a former counsellor, who is said to be accomplished. But Kisnagerry is no longer a military station, and will be as solitary almost as Pinagur. Futty Khan, Irton, and Noble, are the only old cannibals in this quarter; I have seen none of them since January. Futty, ever since his campaign against Dhondee, has been a prodigious rider; he makes nothing of a few hundred miles, and is now trotting up from Madras. I know nothing of your other friends. Dugald Campbell, as I have told you, commands here; Stevenson, Malabar and Canara; Colonel Wellesley in Mysore; and though last not least, your old staff Pop Munro, at Gurrumcondah, where, though only temporary, he plays the Commandant in a very respectable manner. Sim-

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mons is Collector of Seringapatam. I hope I shall hear from you after you have run your rig, and made your *debut* at all celebrated places of business or amusement. Let me know how you like the change upon the whole, and what you think of the Coories and Loogwassis in your neighbourhood. If ever you visit Glasgow, I trust you will call on my father; he will be very happy to see you, and he will ask more questions perhaps than you will be able to answer. You will find no spot in Scotland so naked as the Ceded Districts, where there is hardly a tree to be seen from Penimcondah to Adwani. Gurrumcondah is something like the Baramahl, but has more topes and tanks. Cumbum has also a great deal of wet grain; but all the other districts have little else but dry grain. I suppose you have ere now encountered Arthur Young, and had some debates with him on Sagwulli* and Tuckawi.† I dare say he never saw buffalo-horns growing; and he would probably, after all his rant about turnips, make but an indifferent collector. Give us your opinions on all the wonders you see. Yours ever truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO COLONEL WELLESLEY.

Anantpoor, 20th July, 1801.

DEAR COLONEL,

HAVING to-day answered an official letter from Ogge, which ought to have been done long ago, I now venture to offer you my congratulations on your return to Mysore. You have probably heard from Colonel Close, or Purneah, that many of your old friends who served under the King of the World, are now lurking in the villages of Sondoor, Ballari, and Cumpli,—report makes them above a thousand. I am now endeavouring to ascertain what part of this number is in the Ceded Districts; but after having effected this, I am in some doubt respecting the mode of proceeding. It would not be prudent to disturb them without a force at hand to secure them; General Campbell is now in the Cuddapah province, and will probably be there some months; but if we wish to seize any of the chiefs, it should be done before the end of August, while the river is full. There is, however, another difficulty; most of them are in Sondoor, and while they are safe, it would be doing nothing to lay hold of the few in our territory.

* Cultivation. † Advances made to enable the people to cultivate.

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It is a point deserving some consideration, whether we ought to let them alone or not; but as nothing can be done without a few cavalry from Mysore, I must leave the matter to your judgment. Supposing we had secured the fords and boats on the Toombuddra, they might easily escape to Sondoor. I wish we had that vagabond, Vinkal Row, out of it; for it is a sanctuary in the heart of our country for all kinds of banditti. I hope Cottioli continues quiet; you have still the Bheell-man to reduce. Now that we have got rid of Mad Paul, I trust we shall manage Abdalla Menow. Believe me dear Colonel, yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Poolwenderah, 15th September, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE lately heard some reports that you are thinking of going home. I hope it is not true, both on the public account and my own; for I can never again expect such a patient hearing, and so much allowance for circumstances, as I have hitherto been accustomed to meet with. I lately made a circuit through Ballari Wajer, Caroor, and Gootty, to see whether they had suffered as much from the famine of 92 as they are reported to have done by the Curnum's accounts. There is no doubt some exaggeration; but not a great deal, if I may judge from what I saw. Most of the villages are in ruins—scarce one-fourth of the houses inhabited. That part of the country, and Adoni, suffered particularly; because they have scarce a single tank. The soil is black cotton ground, which does not retain water; yet the fertility of it drew great numbers of inhabitants to those districts; though many of the villages were, at all times, obliged to bring their water from the distance of two or three miles. Though the whole of the Ceded Districts suffered more or less from famine, I have little doubt that, in seven years, the full amount of the schedule might be realized. I would not, however, venture to give this opinion publicly, because there are some obstacles to its accomplishment. The principal one is the public cry for money, which, by making me raise the rents now, instead of waiting a couple of years, may make it twelve or fourteen, instead of six or seven, before we reach the schedule. I am confident that the revenue may be brought to the schedule, or even beyond it, in the time I have mentioned; and were I half a dozen

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years younger, I would, in spite of the outcry* against me, raise it very little during the first two years, by which means I should make sure of effecting my point in the next four.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO COLONEL READ.

Chitwagh, 28th September, 1802.

MY DEAR READ,

IT gave me great pleasure to see, under you own hand, the 30th July, 1801, that you were getting better, and that you enjoyed the English summer, which I hope is a prelude to your also enjoying the winter. Your account of the expense of housekeeping alarms me, for I have not the smallest chance of being master of 3000*l.* a-year, unless I were to stay in India until I could not see my way home, and then I should never be able to manage an excursion with you to Madras — how that place runs in my Indian head!—to France, I meant to have said. I would give a great deal to be there at this present moment with you, that we might see how Buonaparte makes his bundobust, and how he sumjayeshes his Rayets.. But before I can possibly get home, you will have either returned to India, or entered upon some plan of life at home; and then it will be as difficult to carry you to the Continent, as it was formerly to carry you from Tripettore to Raycottah. If I do not find my bones too stiff, I shall probably go home over-land, and when I reach the confines of Europe, I shall begin to look out sharp for you in every fashionable hotel; so, if you see me, I hope you will make yourself known, for it is very likely that, with your English costume and blooming cheeks, I shall not recognize you. My meagre, yellow, land-wind visage, will readily tell who I am. You have now been between two and three years at home, and have, I imagine, by this time resolved upon your future operations. If you mean to return to India, I hardly know any situation, after that which you have held, that would be worth your acceptance, except the Government itself. After it, the most eligible would be the command and collection of the provinces south of the Colleroon. If you stay at home, do you mean to turn country gentle-

* The allusion here is to the complaints of certain new members of the Revenue Board, that he did not exact from the people, particularly in Canara, a sufficient amount of revenue.

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man, and plant topes and dig nullas? or do you intend to become an active citizen, and endeavour to get into the Direction? I wish you were there, that you might endeavour to support some of your old friends. G——, according to report, is likely to lose his collectorship. I have only had one letter from him on the subject, and it is in such general terms that it does not enable me to form any judgment of the question. The report is, that the Board thinks that he was precipitate in his settlement of the Carnatic; that it was much too low, and that he trusted too much to your old friend, Lachman Row. G—— says, that he made it low on purpose, with the view of being the better able to raise it hereafter. I shall be extremely concerned if he is removed, not only from my regard for him as an old friend, but because I am afraid that his marriage, after his long revenue life, has left him but little before the world. I think it hard, too, that a man should be removed merely for an error in judgment—censure would, I think, have been sufficient. You will observe, too, that his error is on the right side of the question. G—— says, that he is accused of not having extended the benefits of his low settlement to the cultivators; but, with the exception of Letcheram, and perhaps a few other instances, the head Potails have been the renters, and their profits will in the end go chiefly to cultivation; but before this reaches you, Cockburn will be at home, and you will get the whole story from him. You will no doubt too fall in with Corner and Cuppage, who have also got their topsails loose. Corner, I suppose, you will find in the upper gallery at Drury Lane, calling out for music, and Cuppage in a chop-house.

It is needless to tell you how I pass my time; for you know well enough what kind of life that of an itinerant collector is. I have all the drudgery, without any of the interesting investigations, which employed so much of your time in the Baramahl. The detail of my own division, near ten lacs of star pagodas, and the superintendence of others, leave me no leisure for speculations. The mere common business of Amildars' letters, complaints, &c. often occupy the whole of the day; besides, I am taken up an hour or two almost every other day in examining spies, and sending out parties of Peons in quest of thieves and refugee Poligars. I am also obliged to furnish grain for three regiments of cavalry, and the gun bullocks, and to transmit a diary every month to the Board, to show that I am not idle. My annual circuit is near a thousand miles, and the hours I spend on

horseback are almost the only time I can call my own. The desolate state of the Ceded Districts, and the greater part of them having been so much overrated in the schedule of Ninety-two, give me a good deal of vexation; for the public having been accustomed to see Tippoo's estimate exceeded everywhere else, they think it ought to be so in every instance, without making any allowances. The cessions of 1792 will never equal the schedule in my time. Those of 1799 will probably exceed it from fifty to eighty per cent. I had intended to have made my settlement this year about fifteen lacs of stars; but the total want of rain will force me to keep it thirty or forty thousand lower. I have just had a letter, dated the 18th, from Allick, at Harpenhilly, where he had come to meet Cochrane, one of my coadjutors. He is in good health, and very much pleased with his situation. General Campbell has his head-quarters at Ballari. I told you in my last, I believe, that he had had great merit in clearing the country of rebels.

Yours, ever,

THOMAS MUNRO.

The following letter refers to a circumstance which occurred in the portion of the Ceded Districts committed to Mr. Thackeray. It is a document of great public importance even now, furnishing very satisfactory proof, that a civil functionary in India is safer when travelling unattended, than if he be followed by a weak military escort.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Ponnamilah, 12th December, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

SINCE writing to you yesterday, I have received yours of the 3rd, giving me the alarm about Thackeray. I heard of it the 27th of last month, and instantly wrote to the General to send a party, and I have offered a reward of one thousand rupees for the Potail of Ternikull, by whose orders the murders were committed. Such outrages are frequent in the Ceded Districts, particularly in Gurrumcondah; but I do not write upon them, because it would only be troubling the Board to no purpose; and you would have heard nothing of the late affair, had Thackeray not happened to be upon the spot. Why did I suffer him, you say, to be without a guard? Because I think he is much safer without one. I traversed Canara in every direction unaccom-

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panied by a single Sepoy or military Peon, at a time when it was in a much more distracted state than the Ceded Districts have ever been, without meeting, or even apprehending, any insult.

I do the same here:—there is not a single man along with me, nor had I one last year when I met all the Gurrumcondah Poligars in congress, attended by their followers. I had deprived them of all their cowle; and they knew that I meant to reduce them to the level of Potails, yet they never showed me the smallest disrespect. The natives of India, not excepting Poligars, have, in general, a good deal of reverence for public authority. They suppose that collectors act only by orders from a superior power; and that, as they are not actuated by private motive, they ought not to become the objects of resentment. I therefore consider the subordinate collectors and myself as being perfectly safe without guards; and that by being without them, we get much sooner acquainted with the people. A Naigue's or a Havildar's guard might be a protection in the Carnatic; but it would be none here in the midst of an armed nation. Nothing under a company could give security, and even its protection might not always be effectual, and would probably, in the present state of the country, tend rather to create than to prevent outrages. However this may be, such a guard for every collector cannot be spared from the military force now in the country. The murders in Adoni seem to have originated in private revenge. I directed Thackeray to add a certain sum to the last year's jumma, but to let the people know that it would not be finally settled till my arrival in the district. Under the Nizam's government, many heads of villages had gained considerably by the general desolation of the country, because they got credit for a great deal more than their actual loss by diminution of cultivation. It was necessary to raise the rent of these villages to a fair level with that of others in similar circumstances. The people who brought forward the information required for this purpose, are those who have been murdered. They were all natives of Adoni, and one of them was a Gomashta in the cutcherry. The village of Ternikull, like most others in the country, is fortified. The Potail refused to agree to the increase proposed. The Serishtadar, knowing that there would be no difficulty in settling with the inhabitants, if he were removed for a few days, ordered him off to Adoni; but, instead of obeying, he shut the gates, manned the walls, and murdered, in the cutcherry, the three men who had given in statements of the produce. These unfortunate

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people, when they saw the pikemen approaching to dispatch them, clung for safety about the Serishtadar, which was the cause of his receiving some accidental wounds. Thackeray, who was encamped near the village, hastened to the gate, and on being refused admittance, attempted to get over the wall. The men above threatened, and called out to him to desist, saying that they had taken revenge of their enemies, but had no intention of opposing the Sirkar; and he at length, very properly, withdrew to his tent. This is the account given me by a Peon who attended him. Now, had he had the guard, about which you are so anxious, it would most likely have occasioned the murder of himself and of all his cutcherry; had it been in the inside, it would have been easily overpowered by one hundred and fifty Peons; and had it been at Thackeray's tent, it would have followed him to scale the wall, and brought on an affray, which would have ended in the destruction of them all. Nothing is more dangerous than a small guard in a turbulent country. The sepoys themselves are apt to be insolent, and to engage in disputes. Cutcherry people are, in general, too ready to employ them in overawing the inhabitants, and have very seldom sufficient sense to judge how far it is safe to go; and a collector will never meet with any injury, unless he attempts to employ force, which he will hardly think of when he has no sepoys. I am therefore against making use of guards of regulars. Thackeray has always had above a hundred military Peons in his division. I shall give him three hundred more; and he can select an escort from them, who will be sufficient for his protection, if he does not try to scale forts. The conduct of the people of Ternikull, after the atrocious murders in the cutcherry, was certainly, with regard to him at least, extremely moderate, and affords a strong proof that he is personally in no danger. On the 22nd November, two days after the affair at Ternikull, three Potails and Curnums were murdered by another Potail of Adoni, for giving true statements to the Sirkar servants. By looking at the map, you will see that Thackeray's division, lying at nearly equal distances from Gootty and Ballari, is better covered by a military force than any other part of the Ceded Districts.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Thomas Munro.

I subjoin to this a letter of a somewhat earlier date, addressed to Mr. Thackeray himself. It relates to the same

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subject, and places in a clear light the coolness and sound judgment of the writer.

Cuddapah, 30th November, 1801.

DEAR THACKERAY,

I WROTE to you yesterday in duplicate, and have since received your letter of the 24th. While I am at such a distance, and no certain communication by Tappaul, you should write directly to General Campbell whenever any disturbance happens, stating the particulars, the principal actors, and their force, as nearly as you can ascertain it. Notwithstanding the outrage at Ternikull, I have not the smallest doubt of our being able to reduce the country to complete subjection, with very little trouble. The Poligars and Bedars of Adoni are but contemptible in comparison of those of Gurumcondah and Cuddapah, who are now, I think, in very good order. I should hope that no hostilities will be attempted again in the Pung Pollam; but every means must be exerted, by promising rewards, &c. to apprehend as many of the rebels as possible. They must be traced to Canool, or wherever they fly to, and seized. When the detachment of troops approaches, furnish the commanding-officer with guides, and send him an intelligent Carkoon, who is acquainted with the country and the inhabitants; and you ought also to go to the camp and give him whatever information you may have. Make your cutcherries resume their work as soon as possible, in the same manner as if nothing had happened; for if they show apprehensions where no violence has been actually committed, it will weaken their authority. It will also excite suspicion and alarm among the inhabitants, and perhaps induce many to put themselves on their guard, or even to resist, where no opposition was intended.

One hundred Asham Peons will march from thence this evening and join you, and one hundred more will march from Gomendah, about the 3rd of December, which, with the hundred I wrote to you yesterday to raise, will make you strong enough to prevent any violence being again offered to your cutcherry.

Shenewar Row seems to have been rather imprudent; but he failed on the right side in exerting his authority. Had there been thirty or forty Peons with him at the cutcherry, it could not have happened.

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TO MR. COCKBURN.

Anantpoor, 18th April, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I AM very much obliged to you for your friendly hints about official respect. Whatever appearances may have been, you may be certain that the military collectors never had an idea of any thing contrary to it. Holding their situations contrary to the ordinary rules of the service, and having been supported in them chiefly, if not altogether, by the Board of Revenue and the late Chief Secretary,* they must have been mad, had they intentionally failed in becoming deference to them.

I have always written in the same style both to the Governor and to the Board of Revenue, without ever suspecting that my disrespect had attracted their attention. I must confess, however, that the words at the close of a letter, "I have the honour, &c." were omitted by design; but I omitted them for the same reason that I once used them,—that I thought it was the fashion. I observed that they were falling into disuse in public correspondence in Europe, and I supposed that the same might have been the case in this country. Indeed, I was in some degree confirmed in this opinion last year by a government order directing all officers, when writing to the Adjutant-General, to drop the usual complimentary expressions, and simply sign their name at the bottom of the letter. This is perhaps approaching too closely to French modes; but I imagined it was the will of Government, and could not believe that what they approved in the military they would censure in the civil department. Be this as it may, I find that I have been wrong; and I shall trust to your kindness to point out, hereafter, any expressions in my letters that may be deemed exceptionable.

I have to-day dispatched to the Board a letter, with some long statements respecting Poligars, which have cost me more trouble than I was aware of when I began; for scarcely a day has passed since I entered the Ceded Countries, that some part of my time has not been occupied by them.

One of my views, in drawing up the statement, was to show what the Poligars really are;—that is to say, the nature of their titles to their pollams, and the probable force they would be able to muster in the event of rebellion. From the want of this kind of information, great mistakes are often committed in military

* Mr. Josias Webbe.

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operations; for officers going against Poligars know commonly very little about their resources, or whether they can bring five hundred or five thousand men into the field. They are therefore rash in some instances; but in many more most absurdly cautious.

Yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cuddapah, 27th May, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE now a charge of near fourteen lacs, nine and a half of which are under my own immediate management, with a set of Amildars and Curnums, hardened in peculation by the looseness of the late Government, and with a swarm of Poligars almost equally troublesome, whether they remain in the country or desert it. This is surely enough for any one man. I have found it so serious a task, that having got both Poligars and Amildars into some little order, I was thinking of taking an hour or two from business, because I perceived that I could not go on at the same rate much longer. But the Board, too, as well as Government, thinking that my time could not be occupied by such an employment, have desired me to give them a particular account in a diary, of the manner in which I spend it. I must apply to them next month to get a remission from this new duty. I cannot see what purpose it would answer here, except to hinder me from looking after more important matters. I have been told that it is common for the assistants to make it out; but no assistant could make out mine. I keep my assistants at home studying the languages. They never travel with me; and were they even constantly at my elbow, they would not understand what was going on, as all business is transacted in a barbarous mixture of Moors, Mahratta, and Gentoo. To explain to them, would take more time than to write it myself; and to write it myself is to leave part of my business undone, in order to write about the rest—for the day is scarcely long enough to get through what comes before me: and I am therefore obliged to relinquish a great deal of detail, into which I often wish to enter. My time has been spent so much in the same way during the last three years, that it is very easy to give an abstract of it. I have had no holidays since I left Seringapatam in 1799. I have had but two idle days; one that I rode over to see Sidout, and another that I went forty miles to see Cuppage at Mundidroog. I feel the effect that

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a long perseverance in such a course must always produce. I have no bad health, but am perpetually jaded, and get through business much slower than I should do with more relaxation. I state these points in hopes that, if you take your seat at the Board, you will prevent any extra trouble from being thrown upon me. Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cuddapah, 5th September, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

WITH respect to your queries concerning the Ceded Districts, I can hardly answer them with much certainty, for revenue matters often deceive one's expectations. Were I young enough to remain eight or nine years, the term which in one of your public letters you calculated would be sufficient to restore the country, I would almost venture to promise to carry the settlement up to Tippoo's highest jumma, with the exception of Gooty and Ballari, and the Nizam's old province, Adoni; but as my stay must be much shorter, I must limit my views to a more moderate revenue. Were I sure that every succeeding Board of Revenue and Government would support the slow and gradual increase of assessment which has already been recommended, I would undoubtedly adhere to it; but it is not likely that I shall be permitted. The desire that men at the head of affairs usually have of seeing the country, or at least the public income, flourishing under their auspices, will most probably compel me to proceed too rapidly, and bring the revenue to a stand four or five lacs below the point to which it ought to have reached. If I am even left entirely to my own judgment, it is possible enough that I may not have sufficient resolution to follow the wisest course. I may get nervous as I grow older, and become afraid of censure. If I leave room for my successor to raise the revenue, it would be said that I allowed the inhabitants to defraud Government. If I raise all that the country can pay, and he could raise no more, it would be said that I had oppressed the people for the sake of exhibiting a high settlement. However this may be, I have no thoughts at present of precipitating matters, though I shall, for the sake of assisting the public want of money, press the rayets rather more than I ought to do.

The following, addressed to Lieut.-General Stuart, Commander-in-chief at Madras, contains an abstract of Colonel

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Munro's opinions as to the most effective method of preserving order in his district. It is given as a specimen of the accuracy with which he was accustomed to calculate all points, whether they related to civil or military administration.

Tippoo Samooder, 11th November, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

As I am convinced that the present state of this country, and the prospect it may have of future tranquillity, cannot be objects of indifference to you, I shall take the liberty of offering a few observations upon them. General Campbell lately communicated to me a letter from the Chief Secretary, relative to the expediency of detaching troops from hence to the Raichoor province, upon a requisition from Hyderabad. I gave my opinion in favour of the measure, not only because we are bound by treaty to comply with such requisitions, but because it will tend to confirm the quiet of the Ceded Countries; for the numerous petty Zemindars on the north bank of the Toombuddra, who give shelter to all fugitive Poligars from this side, and who likewise frequently send parties of banditti across the river to plunder, will be deterred from pursuing such practices, when they see that they are exposed to an attack from a force so much nearer than that at Hyderabad.

It likewise occurred to me, that if the reduction of the Raichoor insurgents were successfully executed, of which there can be little doubt, it would be a strong motive for inducing the Nizam to consent that the part of the subsidiary forces still in the Company's territory, which he might otherwise insist on being ordered to Hyderabad, may be stationed at Ballari. The districts usually called the Doab, lying between the Kistna and Toombuddra, are the part of the Nizam's dominions over which he has perhaps the least control. Their great distance from Hyderabad, and the reluctance which has been generally shown to detaching any considerable part of the force stationed at that capital, have long since taught the Zemindars to regard it without much apprehension; but a part of the subsidiary troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Ballari or Adoni, and ready to move at a moment's warning, would completely overawe them. This detachment would, at the same time, be of great service in curbing the Poligars of the Ceded Districts, until, by being kept during a few years as low as they now are, they shall have lost the power of

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exciting disturbances; and it would be at hand, likewise, to act against the Nabob of Canool, in the event of, what is not altogether improbable, his failing in the payment of his tribute to the Company, which has now been transferred from the Nizam to himself.

There are still two Poligars in the Ceded Country, who have not yet come in; but only one of them, the Ghuttim-man, can make any resistance: his country is strong, and he has himself been long habituated to a predatory warfare. I overlooked the refractory conduct of both these men last year, because it appeared imprudent to engage in fresh operations immediately after the disturbances in Cumbum and at Ternikull. There will be no difficulty in expelling them, should they persist in their disobedience; but I shall not call upon General Campbell until the Raichoor campaign is over. It may then perhaps be necessary to proceed also against the Zemindar of Panganoor, because I am not sure that he will submit to an addition to his peshcush, which must be laid on in order to reduce his power. Should it so happen, that an attack upon all these three chiefs becomes indispensable, their reduction will be easy, and will be effected with little or no loss; and the Ceded Districts may then be considered as completely subdued.

I have always thought that such matters ought to be agitated as little as possible, until the instant of execution arrives; but the Revenue Board having objected to the expenses of an establishment of matchlock and pike Peons, which I raised originally by order of Government, to supply the deficiency of regular troops, I have been forced to explain to them the service for which they will probably be required in the course of a few months, with a view to persuade them, if possible, to suspend any reductions until June or July next, and to let it then be made gradually.

Though when Poligars are in considerable force, and in possession of strongholds, regulars must always be employed; yet when they are once driven to the jungles, Peons are better calculated for pursuing them, and discovering and seizing the principal leaders; and unless this is done, there is always a danger of their rallying again. Peons too are much better qualified than regulars to discover and prevent any projected insurrection. Officers commanding corps or detachments have few or no means of finding out the designs of the Poligars in their neighbourhood; and a rising may happen almost before it is even suspected, which

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may afterwards, before it can be finally quelled, occasion a heavy loss of men and money. When Peons, natives of the country, are stationed in small parties in every considerable Poligar village, they can easily perceive what number of armed followers the Poligar has,—whether they are chiefly idle men, who depend entirely upon him, or men who follow agriculture or other occupations, and whether or not there is any design of drawing them together to raise commotions. When they have any reason to suspect such intentions, they send intelligence, and a sufficient party is dispatched to seize the ringleaders, before they have time to collect followers. Regular troops could not be dispersed in this manner without ruining their discipline, and, what is worse, without exposing them to the risk of being sometimes cut off, which has always the mischievous effect of encouraging the Poligars.

There are now above three thousand Peons dispersed over the Ceded Districts, for the purpose of preventing the return of the fugitive Poligars and their followers, of watching the conduct of the Poligars who still remain in the country, and of dispersing all assemblages of armed men. Their whole expense is fifty thousand pagodas, which is far below that of a battalion of sepoys, if we reckon arms, clothing, &c.; and though they would not be able to keep their ground, unless there were troops to support them, yet as such aid is ready when required, they are more useful than any additional battalion of sepoys could be; and were the option left to me, I would prefer the Peons. Were they reduced at once, I should be deprived of almost every means of knowing what the Poligars are doing. Those who have been expelled would collect parties of two or three hundred, and return through Panuel to plunder; and in Gurrumcondah, a great part of which province is a collection of Poligarships, they would set the Amildars at defiance, and pay very little rent, unless compelled by military force. The calling out of detachments, which would then be continually required, would occasion almost as great an expense as the Peons, and would not answer so effectually the important end of preserving the peace of the country.

Had there been a small garrison of Peons in Ternikull, as there always was when it belonged to the Nizam, the disagreeable occurrences there never would have happened. It is certainly better to prevent such outrages, than to be obliged to punish them. I have recommended to the Board of Revenue, that the Peons

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should remain as at present till July next,—that one-fourth should then be reduced,—that one-fourth should be reduced each of the two succeeding years, but that the one-fourth then left should be kept up for some years longer. I must confess, however, that I would wish that one-third, instead of one-fourth, should be kept up until all danger of Poligar disturbances was at an end. The expense would be sixteen or seventeen thousand pagodas a-year, which is trifling when compared to the advantages of securing internal quiet. My object is to establish every where the authority of Government completely, and not to leave a set of turbulent chiefs in a condition to oppose it whenever they see an opportunity; and if what I have suggested is adopted, there will never be any Poligar wars in the Ceded Districts.

I have taken the liberty of submitting this subject to your consideration, because, when it is referred by the Board of Revenue to Government, the question of the expediency of employing the Peons will no doubt be determined by your opinion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

General Stuart's answer is as follows:

DEAR SIR,

I AM favoured with your letter, dated the 11th instant. The state of the countries composing the Ceded Districts, and their future tranquillity, are objects which certainly cannot prove indifferent to me; and I am very much obliged to you for your observations upon them. I shall, when the question comes before Government, object to your disbanding any part of your Peons. The present is undoubtedly the most improper time that such a measure could be proposed, when we may expect a great part of the regular troops to be called upon for other, and most probably distant service. I am entirely of your opinion, that when Poligars are in force, and in possession of strongholds, regular troops are necessary for the purpose of dislodging them. But when they are dislodged, and driven to the jungle in a dispersed state, Peons are far preferable to the regulars, for every purpose of discovering and apprehending them: they are likewise preferable to the regulars for the other purposes you mention. For these reasons, though it may probably be practicable, at a proper time, to reduce a part of them, I shall upon all occasions oppose their entire reduction

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I have had some conversation with Mr. Webbe upon this and other subjects regarding you; and we entirely agree in opinion respecting the propriety of your system and reasoning. I am in haste, but with great esteem, dear Sir, your very sincere and faithful humble servant,

J. STUART.

Head-quarters, Choultry Plain,
22nd November, 1802.

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Punaganoor, December 11th, 1802.

MY LORD,

THE late occurrences at Poonah will, I hope, excuse my venturing to submit to your Lordship a few observations not altogether unconnected with the present aspect of affairs. The victory of Holcar, by reducing the influence of Scindiah, and overthrowing in a great measure the government of the Peshwah, seems to open a road by which your Lordship, ever watchful over the national interests, may, in supporting an ally, establish a subsidiary force at Poonah, and eventually accomplish the important objects of making Scindiah relinquish the country to the eastward of the Jumna, and of disbanding every foreign corps throughout the Mahratta empire.

If the Peshwah can be prevailed upon to receive a subsidiary force, it would be desirable on many accounts that certain districts equivalent to their maintenance should be ceded to the British Government: for, without such a security, neither the payment nor the continuance of the detachments at Poonah could be certain for any length of time. The Mahrattas are more tenacious of their money than the Nizam; and the Peshwah, were his dispositions ever so friendly, would undoubtedly be extremely irregular in his disbursements; but were he, as is most likely to be the case, to change his mind with the improvement of his affairs, and to give himself up to the councils by which he has hitherto been guided, he would endeavour to get rid of the detachment, and if he saw no other way of effecting it, he would withhold payment entirely.

As it is from his fallen condition alone that his acceptance of a subsidiary force can be hoped for, it would probably be easier to obtain along with it, than at any future period, a cession of country for their subsistence. The same distress which compels him to receive the troops, would induce him to surrender the

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provinces required for their support. The expenses of a detachment such as the Nizam now has, would, I imagine, be more than equal to the revenues of all the Mahratta districts west of the Kistna and south of Suttarrah, together with the Konkan. The possession of these provinces, besides cutting off almost every intercourse by sea between the French and the Peshwah, by facilitating military operations in the centre of the Mahratta dominions, would give the British Government a complete control over the whole of the Deccan. Darwar, as I had formerly the honour of stating to your Lordship, might, by drawing rice from Canara, be converted into a grand depôt capable of subsisting the most numerous army for a whole campaign. This carriage is short, and as the Soondah jungles extend to within twenty miles of the place, a small body of troops would be sufficient to protect the convoys against the enemy's horse. An army advancing now from the Ceded Countries, or Mysore, must receive its supplies of rice and gram, not from the Northern districts, which yield very little of those kinds of grain, but from Gurrumcondah, Penemcondah, and Colar. This line of communication is so long, that it could hardly be defended against an active enemy; and were the Mahrattas, in the event of hostilities, to direct their attacks against it, the army, unless it had other resources, would be reduced to the greatest distress; but if it had its granaries in Darwar, it could act in the enemy's country, which would be the most effectual means of securing our own from invasion. Hullehall might in some degree answer the same purposes as Darwar, and if there is any chance of hostilities, it might be highly useful as a depôt.

The great strength of the Mahratta armies consisting in cavalry, and there being no important places in their dominions like Bangalore or Seringapatam, by the fall of which an enemy could establish its authority over the neighbouring provinces, it becomes a question how, in case of being forced into a war, we might subdue a part of their territory, so as to prevent them from obtaining any resources from it. Whatever may be the motives of the war, conquest must be the object; for there is no other way of saving our own country from devastation.

It does not appear that there would be greater difficulty in subjugating Mahratta provinces, than was experienced in reducing those of Mysore. Such strongholds as might require regular garrisons would easily be taken by the army; the numberless little forts and fortified villages, which would sur-

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render without resistance, might be garrisoned by Peons, and placed under Amildars. The Peons of the country would offer themselves in abundance for this service, because they would be better paid than by their former masters; and their fidelity might be farther ensured, by choosing a proportion of their chiefs from that class of people in Mysore and the Ceded Districts. The merchants and other wealthy inhabitants would take up their residences in these places; the cultivators would likewise fly to them whenever an enemy came in sight; and though bodies of horse might spread themselves over the country, they would not be able to collect any money. If they attempted to destroy all the cultivation, except what was immediately under the protection of the forts, they would be constrained to retire from the want of subsistence. If they did not interrupt agriculture, the greatest part of the produce would be conveyed at night by the inhabitants into places of safety; and though they would have plenty of forage, this would not satisfy them for the loss of pay, which would be diminished in proportion as the sources from whence it had been formerly drawn fell into other hands. They would fall back upon their main body, in order to get their arrears; and if they did not succeed, those that were natives of the conquered districts, would probably return to their homes, and be glad to serve as Peons, or in any other way in which they could obtain a livelihood.

The Amildars would be able to collect revenue sufficient to pay their Peons; and though they might not have it in their power to furnish considerable supplies of money or grain to the army, they would at least hinder the enemy from getting any. The army not being encumbered by a battering train, would move as rapidly as that of the enemy; for, though their horse detachments make long marches, their main body, with infantry, guns, and bazaars, cannot march faster than our own. As the Mahrattas would be incapable of stopping the progress of the army, and as the country in its rear would be secured when necessary by garrisons of regulars, and every where else by Peons, there seems to exist no reason why a permanent conquest might not be effected.

I have made these remarks upon the supposition of the possible contingency of the Company being engaged alone in a war with the Mahrattas; but if they were supported by the Nizam and other allies, the operations of their armies would be much more expeditious and decisive.

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I have no authentic documents respecting the revenues of the Mahratta districts south of the Kistna, but judging by the produce of those immediately bordering on Soondah, I do not believe that the provinces ceded to the Peshwah by Tippoo Sultan, in 1792, yield above three-fifths of the schedule estimate. They would, however, improve under better management, and their political importance might in the mean time compensate for their deficiency in revenue.

When I consider how many better channels your Lordship must have for obtaining information upon all these points, I cannot conclude without apologizing for the liberty I have taken in offering my own opinions. I have the honour, &c.

In the mean while the rupture, which had long threatened, with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar occurred; and Generals Lake and Wellesley, at the head of their respective armies, took the field. With the former of these officers, Colonel Munro was not drawn into communication; but with the latter he kept up, throughout the entire campaign, an intimate correspondence. As may be imagined, the larger portion of the letters which passed between them, are at once too brief, and partake too much of an official character, to possess much interest in the eyes of ordinary readers; yet there are some which well deserve a place in this or any other collection; and the following appear to me to be of the number.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE ARTHUR WELLESLEY, TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MUNRO.

Camp at Hatteer, fifty miles N.N.E.
from Meritch, April 8th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

As it is possible that the service on which I am employed may last after the rivers will fill, it is necessary that I should make arrangements for having boats upon all of them. I have accordingly written to Purnaih, and to Mr. Read, to have some prepared in Mysore and in Soondah: and I must request you to have twenty basket-boats made in the Ceded Districts. They should be of the size of ten feet diameter, and three feet deep, and I wish that they may be covered with double leather. The leathers ought to be sewed with thongs, and of such a size as to

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cover the gunnels of the boats all round. I intend that your boats should be upon the Malpurba, respecting which I will write to you hereafter. Besides boats, I shall want boatmen, of which your districts ought to furnish a large proportion. Purniah says, that when he managed Harponhelly, that district, in particular, furnished a large number of people of this description. The total number that I shall want is three hundred, of which Soondah can give only twenty; Mysore, I suppose, about one hundred; and I must depend upon you for the remainder.

The pay which I have given the boatmen is one gold fanam for every day they do not work, and two gold fanams for every day they do; this money paid daily if they choose it. Let me know how many people of this description you can send me for this pay. You will see, by the date of this letter, that I have lost no time, and I am still in high style. I am now moving towards the Nizam's frontier to facilitate a communication with Colonel Stevenson, and, eventually, our junction. As I advance, Futty Sing and Meer Khan fall back, and I meet with no opposition. I expect to be at Poonah some time about the 20th.

Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Poonah, May 14th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I LEARN from General Stuart, that he has desired you to supply me with twenty boats for the Malpurba, and some boatmen.

You know that the rivers will fill between the 14th and 20th of June; and I beg you to take early measures for providing this mode of passing them.

As you are too far from me, and it is possible that you may not be able to send off the boats at a period sufficiently early for my purpose, I have directed that ten of the boats made in Soondah, which were intended for the river Gulpurba, may be left on the river Malpurba. Ten of your boats consequently are to be sent to the river Gulpurba, about thirty miles farther on. I beg you to give orders upon this subject to the people you will send with the boats. Their station upon the river Malpurba will be at Sangoly; that upon the river Gulpurba, will be at Goodagerry. The boatmen whom you will send, will be divided equally between the stations, on the river Malpurba, Gulpurba, and Kistna.

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Their pay is to be one gold fanam for every day they do not work, and two gold fanams for every day they do: it is to commence from the day they will leave their villages, and to be paid weekly. I will settle with you for it, to the day of their arrival at their posts, as well as for the expense of the carriage of the boats. Afterwards, it will be paid by the officer in charge of the posts. Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The Peishwah arrived yesterday, and is going to be seated on his musnud.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, twenty miles east of Arungabad,
August 30th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

SCINDIAH and the Rajah of Berar have entered the Nizam's territories, have passed Colonel Stevenson with an army of horse only, and propose to be upon the River Godavery this day. If the river should be fordable, they may be able to get to the southward; and I give you notice, that you may have your tannahs prepared in your villages, and desire them to defend them. They are starving already: flour and grain sell two and a half seers for a rupee in their camp; because the inhabitants, finding that they have no guns, and that the horse cannot get over their walls, do not choose to give up their property upon the first requisition, and they have not leisure to wait long in any particular place.

I have received intelligence, that a fellow, by name Mahtab Khan, who was formerly in Tippoo's service, is employed by the Rajah of Berar to raise horse at Cuddapah. You may probably find this fellow out; and I recommend that he be treated as he deserves.

I beg you to keep the Wurdah bullocks in the service: I will write to General Campbell regarding them.

If I should not have been so unlucky as to have the Godavery become fordable about six weeks sooner than usual, I hope to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days.

Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Anantpoor, 28th August, 1803.

DEAR GENERAL,

SINCE replying to your letter in Savanoor, I have heard of your brilliant and important capture of Ahmednuggur; war is therefore now begun, and if Scindiah does not take flight or call for a peace, it may last long enough. If the Bengal army can act efficiently, it would greatly facilitate your operations; for it is in his northern possessions that Scindiah is weakest, and they might no doubt be easily subdued if the Bengal army, instead of covering their own provinces, will only pass the Jumna, and avail themselves of all the advantages of an offensive war. If the Mahrattas will not come to terms, and if the war must go on, it might be of great use to your army to settle the districts that submit to it, in such a way as to hinder the enemy from getting supplies from them, and at the same time to enable you to get as much as possible. This might be done by placing Peons in all the small forts and walled villages, and appointing a military collector, with a small detachment to manage them. He would be able to keep the enemy's horse out of the country, or to prevent them raising contributions; but he would still be able to collect supplies of grain and money, and to forward them occasionally to the army. I speak without knowing what arrangements may have been made respecting such countries as may be subdued, whether they are to be transferred instantly to the Peshwah or to the Nizam, or kept in your own hands during the war; in the latter case, if you think I could be of use, I am ready, but I must keep the Ceded Districts at the same time; it would never do to give them up; for the Mahrattas might suddenly make peace, and I should then be a Major with a company of sepoys, the same command I had when I entered the service. I should have no difficulty, though absent, in collecting the revenue of the Ceded Districts, provided the enemy are kept out of them; the Mahrattas certainly have the means, if they know how to employ them, of continuing the war for a couple of campaigns; and in a protracted war, an army will always find great advantage in settling, however imperfectly, the country in its rear; for it by this means increases its own resources, and diminishes those of the enemy. The revenues of Savanoor are, I suppose, collected on account of your allies; if not, we might, I think, take pos-

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session. But if General Campbell's division is required to act offensively, he would not be able to spare any troops in that quarter.

Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp, September 10th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 28th of August. I have arranged the conquest at Ahmednuggur, exactly as you have suggested: I have appointed Captain Graham to be collector, and have given him a large body of Peons and of horse to forward supplies and preserve tranquillity in my rear.

I should have wished to have you in that situation, but you were not on the spot; and it is not impossible but that your services will be required in your own districts; I have already put you on your guard.

Since I wrote to you last, I have given the enemy a turn. By a few rapid marches to the southward, I have shown them that they could not go alone to Hyderabad, and I have consequently forced them to return to the northward.

I don't know whether they will come back again; but it is reported that they are going back to Burhampore; that the Silladars are much discontented, and swear that they will not serve unless supported by the infantry and guns.

It cannot be expected, however, that I shall be able to march with celerity equal to that of an army of horse only; and some of these may enter your districts. But, on the other hand, it is probable that I may stop them.

The Bengal army has commenced offensive operations, and will cross the Jumna. The troops in Guzerat took Baroach by storm on the 29th of August. Colonel Stevenson beat up a horse-camp on the night of the 6th; and he tells me that he proposed to repeat the attack upon another on last night; I have not yet heard whether he did so or not. No enemy has elsewhere come within forty miles of him.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Anantpoor, 17th Sept. 1803.

DEAR GENERAL,

I WAS lately favoured with your letter of the 30th of August, and am happy to find that you approve of retaining the Wurdah bullocks in the service. I should be glad to see you execute your threat of "striking a blow against those myriads of horse;" but I own that I do not see how it is possible to be done; there might have been some chance of such a thing in July, when the rivers were all full, but when they are fordable, the enemy must be very simple if they throw themselves into a situation where they can receive any serious blow from an army of infantry. I do not know what cavalry you have, exclusive of the Company's; but unless you have enough to hazard against that of the enemy at a distance from your infantry, it must be their own fault if they allow themselves to be brought to action, either by your watching or following their motions. If your cavalry is strong enough to attack theirs, it will of course be practicable to force them to fight, or at least, to give them a blow. I know nothing of the general plan of operations, but I am convinced that they can only be completely successful by making them as offensive as possible, and only so far defensive as may be necessary to secure supplies. If subsistence could be procured in the enemy's country, it would perhaps be best to relinquish the defensive altogether; taking and garrisoning the strong places, occupying the small forts with Peons, and bundabusting the country, is a much more certain way of fighting, than destroying, or dispersing an army of horse: they might enter the Nizam's or Company's territory, but plunder alone would not compensate for the want of regular pay, which they could scarcely receive if their own provinces were falling one after another. Scindiah is weakest in his Northern dominions, and the greatest impression could therefore be made on him from Bengal; the Rajahs of Jeypoor, Oudepoor, &c. would, no doubt, join any force that would march to support them. But I fear that unless you can obtain the direction of the movements of all the armies, those of Bengal will be too cautious; that they will be satisfied with the Dooab, which can make no more resistance than the Nizam's Dooab, and that they will not like to march into the heart of Scindiah's country, lest his cavalry should cross the Jumna and Ganges, and cut the Bengal grain. If the Confederacy do not

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call for peace, the campaign will be interesting, and I should be glad to see it; and if you could find out any employment for me with your army, without losing my hold of the Ceded Districts, I should be obliged to you. Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp, October 1st, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I INCLOSE a memorandum which I have received from Bistnapah Pundit, the commander of the Rajah of Mysore's horse serving with me, relative to a claim which he has upon the Rajah of Harponhelly. It appears that the Rajah gave him a village in enaum, which he has now taken from him. Mr. Cochrane knew that the grant had been made, and confirmed it; and I shall be obliged to you if you will inquire into the circumstances, and let Bistnapah keep his village if possible. I entirely agree in the opinions expressed in your letter, upon the subject of offensive and defensive war; however, I think that you are mistaken respecting the possibility of checking, by defensive measures, a predatory war carried on by horse only; indeed, I have done it already in this campaign. The fact is, that a predatory war is not to be carried on now, as it was formerly. All the principal villages in the country are fortified (excepting in our happy country, in which our wise men have found out that fortifications are of no use); a few Peons keep the horse out; and it is consequently necessary that they should have a camp and a bazaar to resort to for subsistence, in which every thing they get is very dear; besides, this necessity of seeking subsistence in the camp prevents them from extending their excursions so far as they ought, to do any material injury.

The camp, on the resources of which an army of this kind must submit, must be rather heavy; besides, there are great bodies in it. They must have tents, elephants, and other sewary; and must have with them a sufficient body of troops to guard their persons. The number of cavalry retained in such a camp must consequently be very large.

Large bodies move slowly, and it is not difficult to gain intelligence of their motions. A few rapid and well contrived movements, made not directly upon them, but with a view to prevent the execution of any favourite design, or its mischievous conse-

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quences, soon bring them to their bearings; they stop, look about them, begin to feel restless, and are obliged to go off.

In this manner I lately stopped the march of the enemy upon Hyderabad, which they certainly intended: they were obliged to return, and bring up and join their infantry; and you will have heard, that in a most furious action which I had with their whole army, with one division only, on the 23rd of September, I completely defeated them, taking about one hundred pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, &c. &c. &c. They have fled in the greatest confusion to Burhampore. Take my word for it, that a body of light troops will not act, unless supported by a heavy body that will fight; and, what is more, they cannot act, because they cannot subsist in the greater part of India at the present day.

It is reported that General Lake has defeated Perron. After that, he will of course open a communication with the Rajpoot chiefs, and will move into Berar. I have designs upon that quarter also. The only difficulty I feel now, is the entire want of magazines in the Rajah's territories; but I shall surmount that difficulty.

I wish that I could have you with me; but I see no mode of effecting that object. Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

We have taken Pawagur, a strong hill-fort belonging to Scindiah, in Guzerat.

In a former edition of this work I was enabled to give only a portion of the very interesting correspondence which passed between General Wellesley and Major Munro on the subject of the battle of Assye. By the liberality of his Grace the Duke of Wellington the void has since been supplied; and I submit the following letters, with no ordinary satisfaction, to the perusal of the public. They are perhaps neither less curious nor less interesting than any which have ever been permitted to meet the eye of the general reader.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Raydroog, 14th Oct. 1803.

DEAR GENERAL,

I HAVE seen several accounts of your late glorious victory over the combined armies of Scindiah and the Berarman, but

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none of them so full as to give me any thing like a correct idea of it; I can, however, see dimly through the smoke of the Mahratta guns, (for yours, it is said, were silenced) that a gallanter action has not been fought for many years in any part of the world. When not only the disparity of numbers, but also of real military force, is considered, it is beyond all comparison a more brilliant and arduous exploit than that of Aboukir. The detaching of Stevenson was so dangerous a measure, that I am almost tempted to think that you did it with a view of sharing the glory with the smallest possible numbers. The object of his movement was probably to turn the enemy's flank, or to cut them off from the Ajunla Pass; but these ends would have been attained with as much certainty and more security by keeping him with you. As a reserve, he would have supported your attack, secured it against any disaster, and when it succeeded, he would have been at hand to have followed the enemy vigorously. A Native army once routed, if followed by a good body of cavalry, never offers any effectual opposition. Had Stevenson been with you, it is likely that you would have destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's infantry; as to their cavalry, when cavalry are determined to run, it is not easy to do them much harm, unless you are strong enough to disperse your own in pursuit of them. Whether the detaching of Stevenson was right or wrong, the noble manner in which the battle was conducted makes up every thing. Its consequences will not be confined to the Deccan, they will facilitate our operations in Hindostan, by discouraging the enemy and animating the Bengal army to rival your achievements.—I had written thus far, when I received your letter of the 1st of October, and along with it another account of your battle from Hyderabad. It has certainly, as you say, been a "most furious battle;" your loss is reported to be about two thousand killed and wounded. I hope you will not have occasion to purchase any more victories at so high a price. I subscribe entirely to what you say about the movements of a Mahratta army; I have always been convinced that our own could bring it up. Their bazaar is, if any thing, more unwieldy than ours; and though their horse may dash on for a few marches, they must at last wait for it. Light troops are not fond of acting at a distance from the army, but the spirit of enterprize and the hope of plunder often increase that distance. The Mahrattas have long been on the decline, and have in a great measure lost their military spirit; the formation of regular infantry, by throwing all the severe part of service upon

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them, has deprived the horse of all their boldness and activity. It was the same in Tippoo's army: in proportion as he placed his dependence upon his infantry, the reputation of his cavalry, and with it their exertions, declined. But still Cummer ul Diu and Gazi Khan were more respectable officers than any of the Mahratta Sirdars; Meer Saheb, Cummer ul Diu's father, was the best of all their partisans. He was in the Carnatic with a body of horse, was perfect master of all the open country, and kept our army in a state of siege while Hyder was at Trichinopoly. It is true, he had a body of infantry, but it was not so much the presence of his infantry, as our having no cavalry, that enabled him to run over the country: we had about five hundred horse,—had we had two thousand, he could not have done it. Had I not a very poor opinion of Scindiah, I would have suspected his movements upon Hyderabad to have been a feint; his cavalry alone could have done nothing against the force there, supported by General Campbell. I should be more afraid of an irregular body of five thousand, under a daring enterprizing leader, if they have any such, than of their main body. Five thousand might find subsistence without touching the fortified villages; the Nizam's cavalry would probably keep together, and not follow them, but General Campbell would be able to come up with some of them; and the fear of this, even without your hunting them, will probably always keep them at a distance. I hope measures are taking to reinforce your army; you want an addition of at least three or four thousand men to enable you to push your victories. If Perron has been defeated, the great object ought to be to open a communication with the Rajpoot Chiefs; their own cavalry is able to meet Scindiah's, it is only his infantry and guns that alarm them, and these have already been pretty well settled. If you can find subsistence in the Berar country, you will probably be able to force the Rajah to a separate peace, and there will then be no great difficulty in Polandizing Scindiah's dominions.

I go to Belari in a few days, when I shall inquire into the affair of Bistnapah Pundit's village. I am, however, afraid we shall be able to make nothing of the Poligar, as he can dispose of his own jaghire as he pleases. I cannot pretend to point out any employment for myself in your camp, but if you can find out any for me in which you think I might be useful, I shall be very happy to be called upon. Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Torputty, November 16th, 1803.

DEAR GENERAL,

I HAVE been alarmed at hearing a report of a congress to be held for the purpose of making peace with the Confederacy: I must own that I think it would be more politic not to receive any proposal until we have either taken, or the enemy put us in possession of, all the places we may think it expedient to hold. Scindiah's disasters have come fast upon him at the heels of each other, and his army is, of course, much dispirited, as well as himself, and most of his principal Sirdars are probably endeavouring to secure service for themselves under some other chief: but the rumour of a congress will make them pause; they will see a hope of his being saved, and they will be encouraged to stand by him longer than they otherwise would have done. When an Indian prince meets with a reverse of fortune, he goes rapidly to ruin; there is no national spirit, no generous efforts to be expected from his followers; and he may therefore, by a little perseverance, be forced to capitulate at discretion. There never will be such an opportunity again for establishing our control over all the Mahratta States, and we ought not to stop until we have accomplished all we can wish, even though it should cost us twelve or eighteen months more of war. The field is entirely open to us; not a Frenchman in India, and little chance of our seeing any here for two or three years, for the Chief Consul will hardly in less time be able to drive Pitt and George from Windsor; and until that is done, he cannot send any more demi-brigrades to give you another battle of Assye. If we are determined to have peace, I hope that the terms will not be short of both indemnity and security. The Concan and Cuttack, the countries east of the Jumna, Delhi, and Agra, to make a provision for the Emperor; the transfer of the Rajpoot Princes from Scindiah's authority to that of the British Government, and the provinces between the Toombuddra and Kistna, must all be added to our dominions: they are not more than Bonaparte's bagatilly in Europe, or than what is wanted to reduce Scindiah within reasonable bounds. The Concan is unconnected with our other possessions, and may be thought less advantageous than additional territory in Guzzerat; but it may be advisable to have the command of the whole sea-coast, not only for the purpose of

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excluding foreigners, but also with a view to the great resources which may hereafter be derived from the monopoly of all the sea-salt consumed in the interior provinces of the Peninsula. Scindiah, after all his losses, would still have enough left to render him, with good management, nearly as powerful as he was at the beginning of the war. He has, like Tippoo, weakened himself by reducing his cavalry, to enable him to increase his regular infantry. His infantry has facilitated his conquests against the Poligars and Rajahs who had none; but it has also facilitated his overthrow when opposed to us, for it obliged him to carry on the war by battle, instead of distant cannonades, and intercepting supplies. It would also be desirable to remove the Kurnoul Nabob, and give him an equivalent in the territory of Scindiah, or the Berarman, and to give the kind of equivalent to the Nizam for the Dooab, which in its present state he would perhaps be very glad to exchange. If all this cannot be effected at present, the Confederacy will be glad to agree to it six months hence: if we take less, we shall deserve to lose what we have. The treaty of Amiens is a very good lesson to all negotiators who affect to relinquish advantages for the sake of conciliation, and the relations of amity, and I don't know what.

Believe me, Dear General, yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

I only wish I were near enough to talk over these matters with you, and in particular to explain the benefits that would result from sending my neighbour, the Nabob of Kurnoul, farther north.

FROM GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp at Cherikain, November 1st, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

As you are a judge of a military operation, and as I am desirous of having your opinion on my side, I am about to give you an account of the battle of Assye, in answer to your letter of the 19th October; in which I think I shall solve all the doubts which must naturally occur to any man who looks at that transaction without a sufficient knowledge of the facts. Before you will receive this, you will most probably have seen my public letter to the Governor-General regarding the action, a copy of which was sent to General Campbell. That letter will give you a general outline of the facts. Your principal objection to the action is, that I detached Colonel Stevenson. The fact is, I did not detach Colonel Stevenson. His was a separate corps equally

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strong, if not stronger than mine. We were desirous to engage the enemy at the same time, and settled a plan accordingly for an attack on the morning of the 24th. We separated on the 22nd; he to march by the western, I by the eastern road, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna; and I have to observe, that this separation was necessary,—first, because both corps could not pass through the same defiles in one day; secondly, because it was to be apprehended, that if we left open one of the roads through those hills, the enemy might have passed to the southward while we were going to the northward, and then the action would have been delayed, or probably avoided altogether. Col. Stevenson and I were never more than twelve miles distant from each other; and when I moved forward to the action of the 23rd, we were not much more than eight miles. As usual, we depended for our intelligence of the enemy's position on the common hircarrahs of the country. Their horse were so numerous, that without an army their position could not be reconnoitred by an European officer; and even the hircarrahs in our own service, who were accustomed to examine and report on positions, cannot be employed here, as, being natives of the Carnatic, they are as well known as an European.

The hircarrahs reported the enemy to be at Bokerdun. Their right was at Bokerdun, which was the principal place in their position, and gave the name to the district in which they were encamped; but their left, in which was their infantry, which I was to attack, was at Assye, which was six or eight miles from Bokerdun.

I directed my march so as to be within twelve or fourteen miles of their army at Bokerdun, as I thought, on the 23rd. But when I arrived at the ground of encampment, I found that I was not more than five or six miles from it. I was then informed that the cavalry had marched, and the infantry were about to follow, but was still on the ground; at all events, it was necessary to ascertain these points; and I could not venture to reconnoitre without my whole force. But I believed the report to be true, and I determined to attack the infantry if it remained still upon the ground. I apprized Colonel Stevenson of this determination, and desired him to move forward. Upon marching on I found not only their infantry, but their cavalry, encamped in a most formidable position, which, by the by, it would have been impossible for me to attack, if, when the infantry changed their front, they had taken care to occupy the only passage there was across the Kaitna.

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When I found their whole army, and contemplated their position, of course I considered whether I should attack immediately, or should delay till the following morning. I determined upom the immediate attack, because I saw clearly that if I attempted to return to my camp at Naulniah, I should have been followed thither by the whole of the enemy's cavalry, and I might have suffered some loss: instead of attacking, I might have been attacked there in the morning; and, at all events, I should have found it very difficult to secure my baggage, as I did, in any place so near the enemy's camp, in which they should know it was; I therefore determined upon the attack immediately.

It was certainly a most desperate one; but our guns were not silenced. Our bullocks, and the people who were employed to draw them, were shot, and they could not all be drawn on; but some were; and all continued to fire as long as the fire could be of any use.

Desperate as the action was, our loss would not have exceeded one-half of its present amount, if it had not been for a mistake in the officer who led the picquets which were on the right of the first line.

When the enemy changed their position, they threw their left to Assye, in which village they had some infantry; and it was surrounded by cannon. As soon as I saw that, I directed the officer commanding the picquets to keep out of shot from that village; instead of that, he led directly upon it; the 79th, which were on the right of the first line, followed the picquets, and the great loss we sustained was in these two bodies. Another evil which resulted from this mistake was the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the cannonade and the action, long before it was time, by which that corps lost many men, and its unity and efficiency, which I intended to bring forward in a close pursuit at the heel of the day. But it was necessary to bring forward the cavalry to save the remains of the 79th and the picquets, which would otherwise have been entirely destroyed. Another evil resulting from it was, that we had then no reserve left, and a parcel of straggling horse cut up our wounded; and straggling infantry, who had pretended to be dead, turned their guns upon our backs.

After all, notwithstanding the attack upon Assye by our right and the cavalry, no impression was made upon the corps collected there, till I made a movement upon it with some troops taken

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from our left, after the enemy's right had been defeated; and it would have been as well to have left it alone entirely till that movement was made. However, I do not wish to cast any reflection upon the officer who led the picquets. I lament the consequences of his mistake; but I must acknowledge that it was not possible for a man to lead a body into a hotter fire than he did the picquets on that day against Assye.

After the action there was no pursuit, because our cavalry was not then in a state to pursue. It was near dark when the action was over; and we passed the night on the field of battle.

Colonel Stevenson marched with part of his corps as soon as he heard that I was about to move forward, and he also moved upon Bokerdun. He did not receive my letter till evening. He got entangled in a nullah in the night, and arrived at Bokerdun, about eight miles from me to the westward, at eight in the morning of the 24th.

The enemy passed the night of the 23rd at about twelve miles from the field of battle, twelve from the Adjuntee Ghaut, and eight from Bokerdun. As soon as they heard that Colonel Stevenson was advancing to the latter place, they set off, and never stopped till they had got down the Ghaut, where they arrived in the course of the night of the 24th. After his difficulties of the night of the 23rd, Colonel Stevenson was in no state to follow them, and did not do so till the 26th. The reason for which he was detained till that day was, that I might have the benefit of the assistance of his surgeons to dress my wounded soldiers, many of whom, after all, were not dressed for nearly a week, for want of the necessary number of medical men. I had also a long and difficult negotiation with the Nizam's Sirdars, to induce them to admit my wounded into any of the Nizam's forts; and I could not allow them to depart until I had settled that point. Besides, I knew that the enemy had passed the Ghaut, and that to pursue them a day sooner or a day later could make no difference. Since the battle, Stevenson has taken Barhumpoor and Asseergur. I have defended the Nizam's territories. They first threatened them through the Caperbay Ghaut, and I moved to the southward, to the neighbourhood of Arungabad. I then saw clearly that they intended to attempt the siege of Asseergur, and I moved up to the northward, and descended the Adjuntee Ghaut, and stopped Scindiah. Stevenson took Asseergur on the 21st. I heard the intelligence on the 24th, and that the Rajah of Berar had come to the south with an army. I ascended the

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Ghaut on the 25th, and have marched a hundred and twenty miles since in eight days, by which I have saved all our convoys, and the Nizam's territories. I have been near the Rajah of Berar two days, in the course of which he has marched five times; and I suspect that he is now off to his own country, finding that he can do nothing in this. If that is the case, I shall soon begin an offensive operation there.

But these exertions, I fear, cannot last; and yet, if they are relaxed, such is the total absence of all government and means of defence in this country, that it must fall. It makes me sick to have any thing to do with them; and it is impossible to describe their state. Pray exert yourself for Bistnapah Pundit, and believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Cowderabad, 28th November, 1803.

DEAR GENERAL,

I HAVE received your letter of the 1st instant; and have read with great pleasure and interest your clear and satisfactory account of the battle of Assye. You say you wish to have my opinion on your side; if it can be of any use to you, you have it on your side, not only in that battle, but in the conduct of the campaign. The merit of this last is exclusively your own; the success of every battle must always be shared, in some degree, by the most skilful General with his troops. I must own I have always been averse to the practice of carrying on war with too many scattered armies, and also of fighting battles by the combined attacks of separate divisions. When several armies invade a country on separate sides, unless each of them is separately a match for the enemy's whole army, there is always a danger of their being defeated one after another; because, having a shorter distance to march, he may draw his force together, and march upon a particular army before it can be supported. When a great army is encamped in separate divisions, it must, of course, be attacked in separate columns. But Indian armies are usually crowded together on a spot, and will, I imagine, be more easily routed by a single attack, than by two or three separate attacks by the same force. I see perfectly the necessity of your advancing by one route, and Colonel Stevenson by another, in order to get clear of the defiles in one day; I know also that you could not have reconnoitred the enemy's position without carrying on

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your whole army; but I have still some doubts whether the immediate attack was, under all circumstances, the best measure you could have adopted. Your objections to delay are, that the enemy might have gone off and frustrated your design of bringing them to battle, or that you might have lost the advantage of attack, by their attacking you in the morning. The considerations which would have made me hesitate are, that you could hardly expect to defeat the enemy with less than half the loss you actually suffered; that after breaking their infantry, your cavalry, even when entire, was not sufficiently strong to pursue any distance, without which you could not have done so much execution among them as to counterbalance your own loss; and lastly, that there was a possibility of your being repulsed; in which case, the great superiority of the enemy's cavalry, with some degree of spirit which they would have derived from success, might have rendered a retreat impracticable. Suppose that you had not advanced to the attack, but remained under arms, after reconnoitring at long-shot distance, I am convinced that the enemy would have decamped in the night, and as you could have instantly followed them, they would have been obliged to leave all or most of their guns behind. If they ventured to keep their position, which seems to me incredible, the result would still have been equally favourable: you might have attacked them in the course of the night; their artillery would have been of little use in the dark; it would have fallen into your hands, and their loss of men would very likely have been greater than yours. If they determined to attack you in the morning, as far as I can judge from the different reports that I have heard of the ground, I think it would have been the most desirable event that could have happened, for you would have had it in your power to attack them, either in the operation of passing the river, or after the whole had passed, but before they were completely formed. They must, however, have known that Stevenson was approaching, and that he might possibly join you in the morning, and this circumstance alone would, I have no doubt, have induced them to retreat in the night. Your mode of attack, though it might not have been the safest, was undoubtedly the most decided and heroic; it will have the effect of striking greater terror into the hostile armies than could have been done by any victory gained with the assistance of Colonel Stevenson's division, and of raising the national military character, already high in India, still higher.

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I hear that negotiations are going on at a great rate; Scindiah may possibly be sincere, but it is more likely that one view, at least, in opening them, is to encourage his army, and to deter his tributaries from insurrection. After fighting so hard, you are entitled to dictate your own terms of peace.

You seem to be out of humour with the country in which you are, from its not being defensible. The difficulty of defence must, I imagine, proceed either from want of posts, or from the scarcity of all kind of supplies; the latter is most likely the case, and it can only be remedied by your changing the scene of action. The Nizam ought to be able to defend his own country, and if you could contrive to make him exert himself a little, you would be at liberty to carry the war into the Berar Rajah's country, which, from the long enjoyment of peace, ought to be able to furnish provisions. He would probably make a separate peace, and you might then draw from his country supplies for carrying on the war with Scindiah.

Believe me, dear General, yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

Macleod is gone to join his corps in Cuttack; he might be of great use here in managing the country, and I hope, that if Colonel Harcourt is under your authority, you will recommend to him to facilitate the execution of his military operations by employing Macleod as a Collector.

TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Rachotti, 6th February, 1804.

DEAR GENERAL,

I HEAR from all quarters that peace has been made with Scindiah; I congratulate you on the conclusion of your brilliant and decisive campaign: I believe that no person, however sanguine, expected to have seen so speedy and fortunate a termination of the war. If we keep Cuttack, and the countries east of the Jumna, we shall be well paid for our expenses. When the terms are published, I do not wish to see an honourable peace, like that of Amiens, but a successful one, which I have no doubt you have dictated. It would be desirable to make some new arrangements with the Peshwah, for the original treaty, calculating by the schedule of Ninety-two, would only give us a part of Savanoor, not extending beyond Dumbal and Sirhitty. That country is greatly overrated, and will not yield two thirds of the estimate, and our frontier is a bad one. If we cannot reach the

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Malpurba, we ought, at least, to run up to Guddick Noolyond, and thence to Hullehall. But whatever the boundary may be, the cession can only be made valuable by putting down all authority except that of Government.

I formerly mentioned Macleod to you as the fittest man for that purpose, but he is now Collector of Arcot. After him, I think Major Graham is the man best qualified for such a situation. I have not heard how he has managed at Ahmednuggur; the state of the country probably gave him no opening to be of much service in the revenue way, and he may therefore have been disabled from furnishing such supplies for the army as you might have expected. If any thing of this kind makes you doubtful as to his being a fit person to manage a new country, I can only say that it would be in much worse hands under a civil servant. If you mean to dispose of Graham any where else, then I see no resource but your recommending me to Savanoor, or it to me.

Now that the war is over, I hope that you will think of some general plan for the defence and security of our extensive dominions. Notwithstanding our successes, it is evident that our armies in the late war were not sufficiently numerous. Had Holkar taken a decided part against us, or had the French been able to land a strong detachment, our difficulties would have been so much increased, that I doubt if we should have made any conquests. We met with no disaster, but had we lost a detachment, or had one of our divisions been defeated—a thing though very unlikely, yet not impossible—the difficulty of supplying the immediate loss of men, the effect which such an exploit would have had in encouraging many of the inferior Mahratta Chiefs to act against us—encouraging our own tributaries to rise and interrupt our communications, and in inspiring the Confederacy with confidence, would altogether have formed so many obstacles, as to render the issue of the contest very uncertain. We cannot expect that the French are never to have a fleet, and that they are never to be able to land a force in India, nor ought we to imagine that we are never to meet with a reverse of fortune in the field against a Native power; our army should be such as to enable us to meet either of these events without any serious danger; this was not the case in the late campaign. Not only your own army, but that of General Campbell, ought to have been considerably stronger; I will not say that you might have been defeated at Assye, but you will probably allow, that we have sometimes had,

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and may have again, generals who might have lost such a battle, and the immediate consequence of such a misfortune would be the transfer of the war to our own provinces. Believe me, dear General, yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

Ten thousand Wurdah bullocks ordered with rice to your army, will march about the 15th instant, from Gootty, if not countermanded. I do not know that you are perfectly secure against a renewal of hostilities, and shall therefore let the convoy go on; but I have apprized the Commander-in-Chief, that he may order as he thinks proper.

TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Muddanpilly, 20th February, 1804.

DEAR GENERAL,

I READ yesterday, for the first time, with great satisfaction, your treaty with Scindiah; your successes made me sanguine, but it exceeds greatly my expectations, and contains every thing that could be wished: more territory can hardly be desirable until we have consolidated our power in what we now possess. This cannot be effected without an augmentation of every description of troops, and it must be very considerable, if a subsidiary force is established at Poonah, and if Scindiah is simple enough to receive that which you have endeavoured to tempt him to accept, by stipulating to pay it out of the revenues of his lost provinces. We want men; not only for foreign wars, but to preserve tranquillity at home. Had the enemy been able to act offensively; had they penetrated into the heart of our country, they would have been joined by many of the adherents of former governments, and most of our feudatories would have openly, or privately favoured them, and we should then have discovered the weakness of our armies. We can hardly expect in any future campaign to see the same rapid successes as in the last; we may have a more formidable confederacy against us, and the enemy may come into the field with fewer infantry and more cavalry, less able to give battle, but better prepared to carry on a protracted and even an offensive war.

The Mahrattas, after all their cessions, have still as much territory as they had in the height of their power. They may therefore, if they can only remain quiet for some years, and agree among themselves, bring greater armies into the field than we have yet seen. It must be confessed, that it is most likely that

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no cordial union will ever take place among them. It is also probable that we shall have the Nizam and the Rajahs of Jaypore, Oudepore, &c. on our side. But our stake in the country is now so great, that nothing ought to be left to chance. Our armies ought to be placed upon such a footing as to enable us, without allies, to bid defiance to any confederacy that can be formed.

The Indian armies, in the different augmentations that have been made to them since the fall of Seringapatam, have received no proportionable increase of Europeans, and the European force is in consequence much below the proportion which it ought always to hold to the Native battalions. Though we have but little reason to apprehend any danger from our Native troops, yet it is not impossible that circumstances may induce them to listen to the instigations of some enterprising leaders, and support them in mutiny or revolt. After seeing what has happened among our own soldiers and sailors in England, we cannot suppose that it is impossible to shake the fidelity of our Sepoys.

The best security against such an event would be an increase of our European force, which ought to be, I think, to our Native in proportion of one to four, or at least one to five. I see that you have kept Ahmednuggur and some other districts in the Deccan, but I know not whether as permanent possessions, or with a view to exchange them for other territories. If the districts about Ahmednuggur offered any supplies, that place might be useful as a military station; it has the inconvenience of being insulated, but then it has the advantage of being far advanced, and by serving as a point of junction and support to our divisions at Poonah and Hyderabad, might facilitate our operations hereafter.

The Harponhilly man denies having any intention of resuming Bistnea Pundit's village; at least, this is the information I have from the Amildar. I did not think it advisable to write to the Poligar myself, because, in case he had refused to obey, it would not have been advisable to push him at present. But if Bistnea Pundit says that his people do not enjoy the Enam, I shall order the Poligar to give it up, whenever I am certain that hostilities are at an end, and that there is no other demand for the services of General Campbell's division. Believe me, dear General,

Yours most faithfully,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO COLONEL READ.

Punganoor, 6th March, 1804.

DEAR READ,

I HAVE only heard from you once since you left India, in the few lines that you sent me from Portsmouth. I have, I believe, only written to you twice, owing partly to my being much occupied, and partly to my not being sure whether you were in England, or on your way back to this country. My secluded situation prevents me from hearing what is going on until long after it is known to every one else, so that I can never communicate any thing that you will not have heard both earlier and more correctly from some others of your friends. Many causes have concurred to keep me at a distance from society, and to force me to travel about my districts alone, where I have more business of different kinds than I can well manage. The subordinate collectors having been all removed, and a complete new set given to me last year, has been a great hindrance to my operations; for it has obliged me not only to continue to retain the greatest part of the country in my own hands, but to look after, for a time, the internal management of the other divisions. I am also a kind of commissary and agent to the army, for almost all their supplies are drawn from this province. I should have thought nothing of it, had it been only to equip them at first starting, but the demand is increasing. Ever since November 1802, when the preparations for war began, I have never had less than ten thousand, and sometimes above thirty thousand bullocks in motion; and though peace has now been concluded, I am at this moment sending off ten thousand Wurdah bullocks with rice to General Wellesley's army beyond Aurungabad. I have not only always had the purchase of the supplies, but the payment of most of the bullocks. This bullock business, together with sheep, boats, pay of boatmen, and I do not know what, and the endless disputes and correspondence about accounts, bills, &c. leave me very little time for revenue. For more than three years I have not had a single holiday, and have very rarely risen from business before sunset. I could not have believed, had I not made the experiment, that it was possible to undergo such a constant drudgery; but, after all, my time is in some respects very unprofitably employed. You did infinitely more in one month in investigating the condition of the inhabitants, and the principles of revenue, than I do in twelve. Two very bad seasons in

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this country, and all over the Deccan, have greatly augmented the usual difficulty of finding subsistence for the armies. In some parts of the Deccan there is a famine, and the scarcity here very nearly approaches to that calamity. The revenue of course has suffered greatly, and now stands at about fourteen lacs of pagodas, instead of sixteen, to which it would have risen this year, had the two last been but ordinary seasons. Now let us turn to other concerns, for you have already had enough of mine. You will be happy to learn that your two old deputies, Macleod and Graham, are both again Collectors. Macleod has probably given you himself his motives for quitting Malabar; his resignation occasioned great surprise at Madras, and gave, I believe, great offence to Lord Clive, who had selected him for the appointment. Lord Bentinck gave him, without any solicitation on his part, the collectorship of Arcot. Macleod thinks that Hurdis has befriended him in this affair. Graham accompanied General Wellesley's army in March last, as deputy-paymaster, and on the fall of Ahmednuggur was appointed by the General, Collector of that province, and as it has been ceded by Scindiah, he will probably remain there. I am not certain that it will not be exchanged for some other territory. I hope, however, notwithstanding its being insulated, that it will be retained as a point of junction for our detachments at Poonah and Hyderabad, and as an advanced station, from whence we may, if necessary, hereafter carry our arms beyond the Nerbuddah.

I shall not enter into any details of the late war with the Mahrattas, for, not having been myself in the field, I could give you no information that you will not find in the newspapers. I never entertained any doubt that our success would be great, but I did not expect that it would have been so rapid, for I could not have believed that the enemy would have shown so little exertion as they did. Our constant succession of victories is chiefly to be attributed to the Bengal and Madras armies having had a much greater body of regular cavalry than in any former war, and to the conduct of Generals Lake and Wellesley in availing themselves of this circumstance to make the campaign entirely offensive, to give the enemy no respite, and to push all their advantages to the utmost: but other causes also contributed greatly to favour our operations. The Mahrattas in general were much weakened by their long dissensions, and Scindiah in particular had suffered heavy losses in his war with Holkar. The introduction of a great body of regular infantry, with a vast train of artillery,

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had made his armies unwieldy, and in order to keep up the foot, the cavalry were neglected. They were deficient in number and quality, and as they were considered as only a secondary corps to the infantry, they had lost all their spirit of enterprise. They gave very little support to their infantry in the different battles that were fought, and they attempted nothing alone. They fell in during the campaign with several convoys, and though the escorts were but inconsiderable, they did not cut off one of them. I have heard much said of the excellence of Scindiah's battalions, and of the danger to which our power in this country would have been exposed, had he been permitted to go on much longer augmenting them. But my own opinion is the very reverse of this, for I think that he could have had no chance of success, except from his cavalry; and that as he must have reduced them in proportion as he increased his infantry, every addition to that part of his army would only have tended to weaken his real force. Had he been satisfied with Peons instead of battalions, and with a few long field-pieces instead of a cumbersome train of artillery, and had he applied the funds consumed by his infantry to the equipment of his cavalry, his army might not have been so able to meet us in battle, but it would have been much better calculated than it was to have carried on a protracted, harassing, and doubtful war. His infantry was regular enough, but it wanted steadiness, in which it must always be greatly inferior to ours, from the want of a national spirit among its officers, and of the support and animating example of European regiments. At the battle of Assye, the severest that took place in the course of the war, I do not recollect, among all our killed and wounded officers, one that suffered from a musket-ball or a bayonet,—a convincing proof that the Mahratta infantry made very little serious opposition. Its discipline, its arms, and uniform clothing, I regard merely as the means of dressing it out for the sacrifice. Its numerous artillery prevents it from escaping by rapid marches; it is forced to fight, deserted by its cavalry, and slaughtered with very little loss on our side. Scindiah, by abandoning the old system of Mahratta warfare, and placing his chief dependence on disciplined infantry, facilitated the conquest of the states of Polligars and Rajahs, whose forts and jungles might have secured them against his horse; but he at the same time disabled himself from maintaining a contest with us, for he reduced the war to a war of battles and sieges, instead of one of marches and convoys. As long as his battalions are not under French influence, by being

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commanded by officers of that nation, it is more our interest that he should keep them up than that he should disband them and raise horse.

The treaties lately dictated to the Berar Rajah and Scindiah by General Wellesley, have given us a greater accession of territory than we ever gained by any former war. The revenues of Scindiah's cessions are said to amount to one crore and sixty-seven lacs of rupees, and those of the Berarman's to about seventy. I can state this only as report, for I have not seen the schedules. The cessions of Berar are Cuttack, and all the districts intermixed with the Nizam's which formerly paid a part of their revenue to both powers. You will see Scindiah's cessions in the treaty which I enclose; they comprehend all the countries north of Jeypoor, Oudepore and Gohud, together with all his claims upon these Rajahships, which will now, under our protection, form a barrier between him and the Bengal provinces. We have only to put our armies on a better footing to be completely masters of India, and to defy all European and native enemies. I wish you were twenty years younger, and back again here to bundobust some of our new acquisitions. I hear different accounts of your health; some say that you are ill, others that you are well; I hope, at any rate, that you are better than when you left India; that you enjoy the climate of your native land, its society, and all the wonders of its commerce and manufactures. I have lately had a letter from your old friend Narnapah, telling me that you have sent him a magnificent present of silver atterdans, kullumdans, &c., and that he is praying Shuborore for the return of Huzzoret. I imagine that if you have any design of coming out again, that you will defer it till after you have seen the event of Buonaparte's threatened invasion, for until that is decided, the scene in Europe is much more interesting than in India. I shall in a very few years be rich enough to pay you a visit, but I shall be so old that it will be hardly worth while to go home—Khooda Hafizbad.

Yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

FROM MAJOR MUNRO.

[*To a friend on his marriage.*]

Guddacull, 17th March, 1803.

——— whom I left yesterday morning, has to-day pushed after me your letter of the 10th. I long ago heard from him that you were among the stricken deer, which fully accounted

for your long silence. The only thing that surprises me is, that you should so soon have begun to think of your old friends, and of the common affairs of the world. You have certainly got the start of me in making your permanent settlement, though I would not have suspected it, from the outrageous manner in which you always talked of matrimony. I really believe that your arguments against it have contributed greatly to keep me single, by always putting me upon my guard, whenever I spied the enemy blushing in a female form. My happiness, I am afraid, must still be deferred for a few years, and most likely to the period when I shall prefer the comforts of a nurse, to the charms of a wife; when I shall be so sun-dried, and so cased in flannel armour, that no dart shot from any eye black or blue, shall ever reach my heart. What a life have I led! I have wasted the best of my days without the joys of love, and without the endearments of domestic bliss. I can easily see from your letter, that Mrs. —— is a beautiful girl; and from what you call the short work that you made, or rather that she made with you, that she is an enchanting woman; but all the fascinations of form and manner soon lose their power, unless the man is held by superior attractions. If a woman has not a disposition somewhat similar to that of her husband,—if she has not those endowments which can render her an amiable and intelligent companion, he will soon regard her with indifference. Mrs. —— is so young, and fortunately so far from scenes of dissipation, that you may direct her mind to any pursuits you please; and you may give her a taste for reading, which besides being a perpetual fund of innocent amusement to herself, will make her society more interesting to you and to your friends. Yours ever,

THOMAS MUNRO.

The following remarks upon the campaigns of Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley, will not, it is presumed, be read without interest.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Rachatti, 12th February, 1804.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

YOUR letter of the 2nd January reached me some time ago. The war is now over. The treaty with Scindiah has not yet been published here; but I suppose we shall soon have it from Bengal. Delhi and Agra are said to be among the cessions.

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We are now complete masters of India, and nothing can shake our power, if we take proper measures to confirm it. The most essential one is a military arrangement for the whole of our possessions. Our armies ought to be so much increased as to enable us, if necessary, to carry on a war against a confederacy of the native powers with France, and, at the same time, to retain our own feudatories in subjection. The revenues of our new acquisitions, and the increase of revenue in our old dominions, during a state of tranquillity, ensured by the protection of a powerful army, would more than counterbalance all the additional expense of the military establishment.

You are quite an enthusiast with respect to General Lake. General Wellesley had, however, greater difficulties to encounter, a greater body of infantry and artillery, a much more formidable cavalry, and all animated by the presence of their sovereign; not dispirited by the desertion of their officers, like the northern army. If there was any thing wrong at Assye, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action, every thing was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment that it was most necessary.

I allow them both great credit; but, after all, I see nothing very extraordinary in the success of the war. I never doubted that the result would be what it has been. I calculated, at the opening of the campaign, two years for the complete conquest of all the possessions of Scindiah and the Berarman. I thought their cavalry would have shown a little more enterprise; but they ruined it, and destroyed its spirit, by teaching the troopers that they did not depend upon cavalry, but upon infantry. By coming forward with regular infantry, they gave us every advantage we could desire. They opposed to us men that never could be made so good as our own, from the want of a national spirit among the officers, and of the support of European battalions; and they trusted the success of the war to the event of close engagements. More credit has been given to the firmness of their infantry than it deserved. They seem to have made but little opposition, except during the short time our army was forming, and to have relied more upon their artillery than their musketry, as is fully proved by our horse having suffered little loss, unless by round and grape-shot. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Undapoor, 12th April, 1804.

DEAR GENERAL,

I AM sorry to hear it reported that it has been in agitation to relieve the subsidiary force at Hyderabad with Bengal troops; I think there are many strong public grounds for having no Bengal corps either there or at Poonah. It is easier to carry on war in all the countries south of the Nerbuddah from Mysore than from Bengal. Where troops are in all respects equal, there is still an advantage in having those who are to act together drawn from one and not from different establishments; but the Coast troops are perhaps in some respects superior to those of Bengal; they are more regular, more tractable, more patient under privations, and they have been more accustomed to military operations. If this is true, the argument against employing Bengal sepoys in the Deccan becomes so much the stronger, for why bring them here when we have better on the spot? The Peninsula will perhaps always be the principal scene of war in India, and it would therefore be more advisable that the Coast army should be so much increased as to be able to meet all its enemies, than that it should be obliged to depend on succours from Bengal, which are always slow and expensive. The Coast army has not only to contend with the Native powers, but also with the French, and if any of our military establishments in India are to be greater than what is required for the ordinary exigencies of affairs, it ought certainly to be that which is exposed to the greatest dangers. We can hardly hope for any peace with France that will not leave her as formidable as she was under the monarchy; but she was then always able to bring a fleet into the Indian seas, and to land as she wished; she will be able to do so again, for as to her fleet being destroyed, it is a loss which we have seen by past experience can always be replaced by ten or twelve years of peace. She cannot now, it is true, have the advantage of a Mysore alliance: but still, in the event of hostilities in the Deccan, her landing three or four thousand Europeans upon the coast would form a powerful diversion. If you have not renounced all intention of leading the Coast army in some future campaign, you must wish to have it composed of such men as you commanded at Assye, and I therefore hope that you will recommend an increase of the establishment.

Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Anantpoor, 24th May, 1804.

DEAR GENERAL,

I SHOULD have answered your letter of the 25th March, relative to Ram Rowe long ago, but I was to the Southward when I received it, and wished to make some inquiry about him in this part of the country before writing to you. From what I can gather, I imagine that he is the son of the Sir Dessay a Desmook Narting Rowe, of Gootty, who was taken with Mosari Rowe by Hyder, and either died or was put to death on the road to Seringapatam. The Enam lands, which were considerable, were at that time resumed, and the family have never since ventured to return to this country. The orders of Government to me were, that no claims should be admitted that were not authorised by Tippoo. It is therefore, you see, impossible that I can do any thing for him. If any particular view is to be answered by serving him, the surest way would be your recommending him for a pension. The restoration of his lands would be very impolitic, they would give him an influence in the country which he would always employ in favour of the Mahrattas. All Desmooks are Mahratta agents, and by being established in the heart of our territories they would form connections and prove very dangerous subjects. I wrote to you some time ago about an increase of our military force, but as I see only one additional cavalry regiment, I fear that the want of money or some such cause opposes the measure, for I cannot believe that you think our army as it now stands adequate to all the purposes for which it is required. I am convinced that all extra expenses arising from an increase of military force would be fully compensated by the improvements of the revenue, and the prevention of insurrection. At this moment there is no government in Malabar; I doubt whether we are secure in Tinnavelley against future disturbances. The Chittore Polligars, under Arcot, have paid no tribute this year, because they probably expected the Mahrattas; and had a thousand horse crossed the Toombuddra, the inhabitants of the Ceded Districts would have been in array. A conspiracy has been lately discovered among the Zemindars of Adoni and the leading men of Gootty, Ballari, and Anantpoor, the object of which was to rise and join the enemy. Some of the conspirators and their papers have been taken, which leave no doubt of their intentions. But the Adoni Polligars, who were

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most active, must be overlooked for the present, because there is not a disposable military force of more than two companies of sepoys in the Ceded Districts, and because hostilities must if possible be avoided in this quarter while the armies are in the field. I have called for the two companies, but it is only for the purpose of checking any attempt to rise; for if disturbances were once to begin, they might become general. I should be able, however, to suppress them by arming the loyal Rayets against the insurgents; but as this would suspend all cultivation, it would be more expensive than employing regular troops.

Believe me, dear General, yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

DEAR SIR,

MY last letter to any of the family at home was, I believe, to Erskine, and I then told her that I should make a remittance for the purchase of Leven Lodge. Some letters, both from you and her, gave me reason to fear that it might be sold, and that you would be forced to leave it. I hope that I have not been too late, for my mother appears to be attached to the place, and has enjoyed better health at it than she has done for some time, and she would probably not be so well anywhere else. It would, at all events, be very distressing to her to be driven to seek another habitation, for even a better one would not please her so much. She would regret the loss of her walks in the garden, and of all the trees and shrubs she has been accustomed to take care of. Messrs. Harrington, Cockburn, and Harrington, of Madras, have promised to remit to you an order for 2000*l.* sterling by the first opportunity. This money is meant for the purchase of Leven Lodge, but should that place have been unfortunately already sold, you can then buy any other which you think will be agreeable to my mother. I hope she received the two shawls mentioned in the enclosed bill, which were consigned by the Monarch, in March 1802, to Munro and Brown. My last letter from Alexander is from Agra, the 16th of March. His affairs are going on well, and he talks of being soon able to go home; but as he gives no particulars, I doubt his calculations.

In a former letter I mentioned the principal events of the Mahratta war, which was finished in December, by Scindiah and the Berar Rajah submitting to the conditions which were im-

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posed upon them. Their overthrow and subjugation was no more than what was to have been expected; but it was hastened by their own want of conduct, and by the enterprising spirit of the British General. Their feeble efforts in the field, and their frequent defeats, are to be chiefly ascribed to their having abandoned their ancient mode of warfare, and neglected their cavalry in order to maintain large bodies of regular infantry. This system was in one respect useful, for it enabled them to subdue many petty Rajahs and Poligars, whose strong-holds, situated among hills and forests, would have bid defiance to cavalry; but in proportion as it facilitated their operations against these inferior states, it lessened their means of contending with one, the strength of whose armies lay in its infantry. Discipline might have rendered the Mahratta infantry as regular as our own, and had, in fact, nearly done so, but it still left it a lifeless mass; it could not inspire it with a national spirit, or with the spirit of honourable emulation. Their infantry had not, like ours, the advantage of being commanded by a body of officers anxious to maintain their own reputation and that of their country, and it had no regiments of European soldiers to set it the example of steadiness and intrepidity in action. Their cavalry, from the great expense of their infantry establishment, had been much reduced both in number and quality; and from being less employed, and less trusted on important occasions than the infantry, it had lost almost all its former enterprise and activity. The infantry was attended by a train of field artillery more than double the proportion that is usual in European armies—all this necessarily rendered the movements of the Mahrattas slow, and compelled them to decide the fortune of the campaign by battles and sieges, instead of harassing marches, ravages, and attacks of convoys, from which only they could have had any chance of success. Their artillery was excellent, for much practice had made their gunners very expert; and it was from it alone that we suffered any serious loss in the different engagements—it kept up a heavy fire while our troops were forming and advancing to the bayonets. Their infantry gave way whenever they were charged by ours, and being deserted by their cavalry, they were slaughtered almost without resistance. At the battle of Assye, their cavalry, it is true, covered the retreat of their infantry; but this was owing to General Wellesley's inability, from his loss in the action, and the absence of half his army, to pursue them. Had all his cavalry been present, very few of their infantry

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would have escaped from the field. The history of every battle in the war was nearly the same; a heavy fire of cannon while our troops were advancing to the charge, the Mahratta infantry giving way when they approached near, and their cavalry leaving the infantry to its fate. Their armies in Hindostan were still more unfortunate than in the Deccan, for there they were in a great measure disorganized at the beginning of the war by the desertion of the French and other European officers who commanded them, and by a part of their cavalry disbanding themselves. Scindiah's principal force was employed in the Deccan, where he commanded in person. He might have protracted the war somewhat longer by avoiding fighting, but the result would have been finally nearly the same, for he was not strong enough in cavalry to carry the war into our country. General Wellesley, besides having as large a force of regular cavalry as had ever been employed in any former campaign in India, had a body of auxiliary horse from the Nizam, a body of Mahrattas in the interest of the Peshwah, and a body of the same Mysore horse who had so often harassed our armies under Hyder and Tippoo. With all these horse he was able to meet Scindiah's in action, though he could not venture to disperse his own at any great distance from his infantry in pursuit of them. Scindiah, with his ally the Berar Rajah, was perhaps able to have detached from fifteen to twenty thousand irregular plundering horse; but even this force would have been too weak to invade our possessions. When it crossed the Godaveri, the Nizam's army, in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, would have followed and attacked it. If it escaped him and passed the Kistna, it would have been opposed in the Dooab by the army of observation under General Campbell, who had several regiments of regular cavalry with him, besides a party of Mysore horse at Hurryhurr.

Plundering horse are not fond of venturing without support into an enemy's country, where they expect to meet with cavalry. They carry on their ravages boldly only when no resistance is looked for, or when they are followed by their main army, and can retire upon it in case of danger; but Scindiah never was able to cross the Godaveri, and his irregulars therefore durst not pass into the rear of our armies. Scindiah, without infantry, with his cavalry alone, made several attempts to pass that river, in order to carry the war into the Nizam's and Company's territories; but he was always obliged to relinquish his design by General Wellesley's following him closely for several days, because his sup-

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plies would have been intercepted or overtaken. A great army of Mahratta horse cannot march so rapidly as is generally supposed; it is encumbered by the tents and baggage, and often by the women of its chiefs, by elephants, camels, and servants, and even when all these are left behind, it must still have a great train of bullocks for the carriage of provisions. It is to no purpose that the cavalry can march thirty or forty miles a-day, they cannot find subsistence in an enemy's country, and must at last halt for their grain bullocks, which cannot march so fast as the army which pursues them. The open countries of the Deccan and Mysore, as soon as the harvest is gathered in, present nothing but a naked waste to an invader. The inhabitants are all armed; the villages are all fortified, and cannot be taken without infantry. An army consisting merely of horse can raise very few contributions among them, it must therefore depend chiefly for its subsistence on supplies drawn from its own country.

The treaties with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah give us the greatest accession of territory ever acquired on any former occasion: not having seen the schedules, I do not exactly know the amount of the revenues, but I have heard that the cessions from Berar are estimated at sixty lacs, and from Scindiah at one crore and seventy lacs of rupees. We get the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and all Scindiah's possessions to the northward of Jeypoor, Jondipoor, and Gohud, a part of Guzerat, Ahmednuggur in the Deccan, and Cuttack, which connects the northern Circars with Bengal. General Wellesley dictated the terms; but he probably received some assistance in the details from John Malcolm, who has since concluded a subsidiary treaty with Scindiah. The gradual conquest of India might have been considered as certain when Bangalore was taken; for when the Mysore power was broken, there was no other that could resist us. Tippoo himself was incapable of making any great exertions in the war in which he lost his life. Several of the principal powers have already received a subsidiary force, and there is little doubt that most of the others will follow their example hereafter, either with the view of defending themselves against external enemies or rebellious competitors; for in Eastern governments the death of the reigning prince is usually followed by a disputed succession. Whenever they submit to receive a subsidiary force to be constantly stationed in their dominions, they have in fact lost their independence. They are influenced by the councils of the British Government in India—they become accustomed to its

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superiority—they sink into the rank of tributaries—and their territories, on the failure of heirs, or perhaps sooner, will form provinces of the British Empire. I did not think of writing so long a letter when I began; the thermometer is now 106 in my tent, and the ink will hardly flow from my pen, so that it is high time I should stop. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS MOTHER.

[*Describing the Country, &c.*]

Anantpoor, 20th August, 1804.

DEAR MADAM,

It gives me great pleasure to hear that your health is better than it has been for some years past; and that you are able to enjoy the pleasure of walking; and that you sometimes go as far as Edinburgh. If you are as fond of gardens as in former times, it must be a great comfort to you to have one so near the house. I would give a great deal to have here such a garden as that at Leven Lodge; but, instead of the shady groves in which it is supposed that we Indians pass our lives, there is hardly a tree between this place and Poonah. I am endeavouring to convert about an acre of ground into a garden, but find it very difficult to get either seed or plants. All that I have in it are fourteen fig-trees, about ten or twelve inches high, which survived out of a great number of plants brought from a small garden at Cuddapah, above a hundred miles distant. I have also a few vines, for they are hardy, and thrive every where. I prefer the fig and the vine to most other fruit-trees, because they bear in ten or fifteen months; most other fruit-trees, in this country, do not bear in less than eight or ten years. I have sown the seeds of the mangoe, the orange, and several others; but I do not mean to stay in this country to see them in blossom. I have no river at my garden's end, but a deep well, from which I draw water with the assistance of a wheel and four bullocks. It is only in the great rivers in India that running water is seen throughout the year; such streams as Kelvin, or even Clyde, and all others downwards, only flow after a fall of rain, and all the rest of the year present nothing to the eye but a bed of dry sand. In this part of India, we have none of the verdant fields that are every where seen in Britain. The waste lands are always brown and naked, with hardly a blade of grass: the corn-fields, after the crop is cut, soon become perfectly bare, and nothing is to be seen but an immense

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plain of red or black earth, until the grain rises again the following year. In our kitchen-gardens, carrots and onions are better than they are in Europe. My green peas just now are about four inches high, and I despair of ever seeing them reach to five; but this is owing, I believe, to my bad gardening, for many people have them as luxuriantly as in Scotland. My garden is altogether such a miserable place, that I am almost ashamed to go into it, and usually avoid it in my walks: it is however of no great consequence how it is, as I am always absent eight or nine months in the year, and would not have leisure to enjoy its beauties, were it the finest in the world. My father tells me, that John has been *dux* of his class for some days: I would rather hear that he was a favourite among his companions, and their *dux* when out of school. Your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

Anantpoor, 22nd July, 1805.

DEAR ERSKINE,

You are now, I believe, for the first time, a letter or two in my debt: nothing from you has reached me of a later date than the 16th of May, 1804. This correspondence between India and Scotland, between persons who have not seen each other for near thirty years, and who may never meet again, is something like letters from the dead to the living. We are both so changed from what we were, that when I think of home, and take up one of your letters, I almost fancy myself listening to a being of another world. No moral or religious book, not even the Gospel itself, ever calls my attention so powerfully to the shortness of life, as does in some solitary hour the recollection of my friends, and of the long course of days and years that have passed away since I saw them. These ideas occur oftener in proportion as my stay in this country is prolonged; and as the period of my departure from it seems to approach, I look with pleasure to home; but I shall leave India with regret, for I am not satisfied with the subordinate line in which I have moved, and with my having been kept from holding any distinguished military command by the want of rank. I shall never, I fear, be able to sit down quietly to enjoy private life; and I shall most likely return to this country in quest of what I may never obtain.

My resolution of going home has been strengthened by having this year discovered that my sight is not so good as it was. I

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find that when writing I must go to the door of my tent for the benefit of light when I wish to mend my pen. I endeavour to believe that this is entirely owing to my having lived so many years in tents under a burning sun. The sun has probably not shone in vain; but I suspect that time has also had a share in whitening my hair and dimming my sight. His hand appears now before my eyes only thin and shadowy, like that of one of Ossian's ghosts, but it will grow thick and dark in a few years, and I must therefore return to my native land, and see my friends before it is too late. Alexander will go home in December, if peace is made before that time with the Mahrattas.

I hope you have been successful in your memorial about Captain Douglas's property. I should not have been sanguine myself had you not mentioned the able counsel by whom you have been advised. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO LORD W. BENTINCK.

Muddug Serah, 20th October, 1804.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship having on a former occasion done me the honour of permitting me to deliver my sentiments relative to the appointment of a successor to Major Macleod, I am thence encouraged to address your Lordship on another subject connected with the public services.

The Polligar of Poolcherlah, in the Chittore district, who is now in arms, has written to the Amildar of Gurrumconda; offering to surrender himself upon my cowle, but stating that he cannot accept of Mr. Cockburn's. He acknowledges that he has not paid his kists, but pleads in excuse that they were raised so high by Mr. Stratton, as to disable him from discharging them. This letter was probably written with the knowledge of the other refractory Polligars, and it was, I imagine, the intention of all of them to have made a similar application, if a favourable answer were returned. I directed the Amildar to inform him that, having no jurisdiction over him, I could grant him no cowle; but that I recommended his submitting without delay, and waiting upon the commanding officer of the troops, or the committee.

The motives which gave rise to this application were, no doubt, the impossibility of making any farther resistance, and the despair of being able to keep his adherents any longer

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together. The petty Polligars now in arms are incapable of making any serious opposition; they have but few followers, and these, from a long enjoyment of peace, are very unwarlike. If the Polligars are convinced that it is the intention of Government to insist on their unconditional surrender, they will submit immediately; but if they see any reason to believe that certain points will be given up to them for the sake of quiet, they will persevere in their depredations. The measures that may now be adopted towards them may have very important consequences; for if a remission of arrears, or a reduction of the tribute already established, is allowed, it will be a signal to the Gurrumconda Polligars to follow their example; but if they are compelled to submit at discretion, and, if reinstated, to pay up their balances, Gurrumconda will remain quiet. Disturbances among the Polligars of Chittoor or Tinnavelley are not felt at a distance; but in Gurrumconda their effects would be more extensive, for they would put an immediate stop to the supplying the troops in the field with grain. Nine-tenths of all the rice, grain, and cattle, sent from the Ceded Districts to the army in the Dooab and to Hyderabad during the two last seasons, were drawn from Gurrumconda alone; and if the supply from that quarter were interrupted, the armies would be obliged to depend entirely on Mysore, from whence the quantity that could be obtained would not only be insufficient, but would, from the distance, be too slow in reaching its destination.

In Gurrumconda the Polligar of Ghuttim is the only person from whom I apprehend any danger. I have never yet seen him, for he has hitherto disobeyed every summons to attend at the annual settlement of his rent. All the other Polligars attend regularly, not only when summoned, but at all times, when they have any business, they come to me of their own accord from the most distant parts of the country. The Polligars of Harpenhilly and Punganoor, who are by far the most powerful in the Ceded Districts, require no summons, and the Rajah of Annagoondy, whose ancestors were sovereigns of the greatest part of the Peninsula, visits me oftener than I wish. Some preparatory steps were taken in October 1802, in order to force the Ghuttim Polligar either to come in or to relinquish the management of his district for a pension; but the prospect of a Mahratta war rendered it expedient to abandon the design at that time. The conduct of this man would be of little moment if it could be confined to himself, but as it will undoubtedly extend by degrees to

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the rest of the Gurrumconda Polligars, it may produce the worst effects. He is too weak, and has too little confidence in the co-operation of his neighbours at present, to venture to take up arms, and he will therefore, probably, wait for the appearance of an enemy in this country, or some other favourable conjuncture, before he commits any act of hostility; but, in the mean time, he gives all the secret opposition to Government that his limited power admits of. He evades compliance with every order sent to him; he punishes the head inhabitants of his villages when they complain to me of his having extorted more than the fixed rent; he assists the Chittore Polligars with men and arms—and he has now, it is said, several of them under his protection. I have sent a party of Peons in quest of them, and it will be ascertained in a few days how far the report of their being with him is well founded.

The Ceded Districts, including Punganoor, but excluding the Kurnoul Peshcush, will, most likely, in four or five years, yield a gross revenue of seventeen lacs of pagodas. If the Ghuttim Polligar is removed, this revenue will be at all times easily realized, for there will then be no country of equal extent under the Madras Government in which its authority will be so completely established; but if he is suffered to hold his pollam, he will at some future period raise the neighbouring Polligars, and the revenue will be consumed in reducing them to subjection. What may then be difficult, is now easy: his expulsion would probably be effected without the loss of a man. His adherents would desert him, except a few of his friends and relations who would accompany his flight, and in ten days his pollam would be as quiet as any part of the Ceded Districts. No great injury can result from suspending, for some time, operations against him; but should your Lordship, in the event of his still refusing to come in, and protecting the Chittoor fugitives, deem it advisable to call him to an account, I shall report officially upon his conduct.

It is hardly necessary to observe to your Lordship, that there is a wide difference between the situation of the Polligars of Chittore and Gurrumconda. Those of Chittoor have held a long uninterrupted possession of their pollams, while those of Gurrumconda were expelled, partly by the Mahrattas, and partly by Hyder Ally, between the years 1760 and 1770. Any claim they can have from ancient possession, if admitted, might be extended with more justice to the descendants of the Nabob

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of Cuddapah and the Rajah of Raydroog, whose expulsion is more recent; and would, in fact, if carried to its full length, leave the British Government not an inch of territory in the Ceded Districts. The Polligars, on the fall of Seringapatam, collected followers and seized their pollams. They were never acknowledged by the Nizam, whose officers were engaged in driving them out when the country was ceded, and who, though they made but little progress, would undoubtedly have expelled them all in a few years.

They now hold their possessions only from the forbearance of Government: a rigid adherence to my own instructions, not to allow any claims which were not sanctioned by Tippoo Sultan, would have dispossessed them all. They owe, at least, the return of obedience for the indulgence which they have experienced.

The connection between the Polligars of Chittore and Gurrumconda will, I trust, appear a sufficient excuse for my troubling your Lordship with this long address, I have, &c.

TO HIS BROTHER.

[*On the Military operations in the North of India.*]

Muddanpilly, 21st Dec. 1804.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

I HAVE received your letter of the 15th to-day, giving an account of General Frazer's glorious victory at Doog. It gives me great pleasure to see from the papers that ——— has acted so conspicuous a part on the occasion. It must have been very gratifying to him to discover his own eleven guns among those taken; but he must allow me to deduct them, which he can easily do. I hope he has got many more by this time; that he has taken Doog, and that part of the infantry which took shelter there, and that he will yet pay a visit to his old friend the Cottah Rajah. I see that your indignation against Holkar rises in proportion to his progress down the Dooab. You call him a prince and a chieftain at first, but when he approaches your indigo-house, he becomes a villain. I fear that my public spirit begins to decline, for I must confess, that I would rather that the villain with his gang had attacked the cantonment of Futtyghur, or even of Barrackpoor, than that he should have broken into your indigo-storeroom. If this was his sole object in entering the Dooab, I hope that General Lake's victory will have made him give it up.

Yours affectionately,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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TO THE SAME.

[*On the attack and repulse of the British army at Bhurtpore.*]

Chitweyl, 29th March, 1805.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

I HAVE received your letter of the 25th Feb. and admire the gallantry and perseverance with which both the Europeans and the Bengal army have returned so often to the assault of Bhurtpore; even if the report of the Europeans being dispirited is well founded, it is not to be wondered at; for I do not believe that any troops in Europe would have preserved their spirit under so many discouraging repulses as they have sustained. Their despondency will soon vanish—a little rest or any trifling success will reanimate their courage. General Lake's official report of the affairs of the 20th and 21st of Feb. makes the loss less than your account, and he says nothing of raising the siege. I should like much to be on the spot, to see how it is conducted; for one would think that there is either a want of skill or of artillery, for all the breaches are stated to have been narrow and steep, and it is therefore not at all surprising that the troops should have been repulsed. When a breach is bad, and the defenders numerous, if they make any resistance at all, it is almost impossible to carry it. The General describes the assault of the 21st as having lasted two hours. Troops who could support such a contest, would certainly have carried the place, had the breach been a good one. I am afraid that your artillery have not been sufficiently numerous to make a proper breach, and to destroy the defences. Was there no possibility of making a lodgement in the breach, though the place could not be carried? The attacks lasted long enough for a party to have made a lodgement, but there might have been some insurmountable obstacle to such a measure being carried into execution, arising from the nature of the defences and the situation of the breach. I wish you could send me a plan of the place and of the attacks, and a sketch of the country between Agrah and the Mockundar Pass. I often consult your friend Hearsey's; but though it lays down Bhurtpore, every thing to the West and South is blank. I hope that the General will persevere in the siege, and if he is deficient in military stores, convert it into a blockade until he gets a supply. I see nothing gloomy in your situation, but on the contrary, every thing that ought to inspire hope and confidence. The repulses at Bhurtpore give me a higher opinion of the Bengal army than all their

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victories. We cannot expect that we are to carry on war without meeting any disaster, and that it should be quite a holiday work, in which every thing is to go on as we wish. I see nothing alarming in Meer Khan's irruption into the Dooab and Rohilkund. In our wars here, Hyder and Tippoo have always been in the heart of the Carnatic with a host of cavalry that nothing less than our whole army could face. An army of horse is only formidable when it can keep the enemy in check; when it cannot face his cavalry, nothing is more contemptible. This is the case with Holkar; his cavalry can neither oppose yours, nor venture to attack any considerable detachment of infantry. It appears from your letters, that his infantry is all at Bhurtpore. He can therefore hardly be said to have any army at all; for his infantry is converted into a garrison, and his cavalry into a party of marauders. I see nothing to be apprehended from such an enemy; only persevere in offensive operations, and he must be reduced. I think Scindiah will be too cautious to engage in a new war, but if he does, we shall prevent him from giving you any trouble. Yours affectionately,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Raydroog, 23rd October, 1805.

DEAR MADAM,

You will have no cause to accuse me of silence if the last ships reach England without accident; for I believe that I have written three letters to you within these three months. You will see by them that your alarms about my health are groundless, and that I am as well as ever I was at home. My only Indian complaint, as I mentioned in one of these letters, is a slight pain, which I sometimes feel in my back, occasioned by a fall in leaping over a ditch, about twelve or fourteen years ago. You will however think very little of it, when you know that it has never, for a single day, prevented me from riding or taking a morning's walk of about four miles, which I do at every day at sunrise, if I do not ride. I feel it most after sitting long in one position. And I am convinced that my father's lumbago at Northside gave him more trouble in a week than mine has given me in twelve years. A much more serious complaint is the deafness which I brought from home, and which is older than my remembrance. The temporary fits which I used to have at home of extemporary deafness are much less frequent in this country; but I am more

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impatient under them, because a society of grown-up gentlemen are not so easily prevailed upon as my schoolfellows were, to raise their voices for my convenience. I have now given you the history of all my ailings, and I imagine they are as few as fall to the lot of most men of my age, even in Scotland. I have been induced by your letter of the 8th of March, the longest I ever received from you, to repeat all that I wrote in a late letter on the state of my health; and I mean also to follow your advice of writing oftener, though I should send but a few lines at a time. With respect to going home, it is my intention to leave India next year; but I have many doubts about adopting your plan of seeking a family of my own. I saw myself some obstacles to it; but you have raised up many more by your alarming account of the manners of modern ladies. As you exclude youth, and beauty, and family, from the qualifications of a wife, I suspect that you mean that I should lead to the altar the widow ——, or some ancient lady, who has composed a treatise on the education of young women. Had I passed all my life at home, I might perhaps, as my sisters say, have been the fittest person to choose a wife for myself. I might have been acquainted with her from her early years, known perfectly her temper and disposition, and been in little danger of being deceived on these points; but after an absence of near thirty years, spent chiefly in a tent, I shall on my return know as little of the women of my own country as those of any other nation in Europe. And as I shall not have so many opportunities, as younger men, of mixing in female society, I should, if I trusted entirely to my own judgment in the choice of a wife, find most likely, when it was too late, that I had made a bad one. I am therefore inclined to think that it will be the wisest course to be guided by your opinion in this important matter. I am very sorry that you have been obliged to abandon Leven Lodge on account of its distance; because you will, I am afraid, find the want of the garden. Your new house has the advantage of being nearer Mrs. Erskine; but from its situation at the corner of two streets, it must be a very noisy place, and can have very little ground. You say that it has more than we had in Glasgow. This may well be, for we had none there.

Your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

It will be in the reader's recollection that the year 1806 was rendered memorable in the annals of Anglo-Indian his-

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tory, by the diffusion of a spirit of disloyalty throughout the native army, such as had never before shown itself. Certain injudicious orders on the subject of dress appearing at a moment when Missionary exertions chanced to be unusually great, furnished a handle, of which the disaffected adherents of the house of Tippoo failed not to take advantage; and both the Mussulman and Hindoo sepoys being taught to believe that a design for their forcible conversion to Christianity was in agitation, a tremendous conspiracy, having for its object the massacre of all the Europeans in the country, was the consequence. Neither of the conspiracy itself, nor of the mutiny at Velore, to which it led, am I called upon to give any account; but the following letters will show how the chief authorities at Madras were affected by it, as well as the opinions which Colonel Munro continued, in spite of appearances, to cherish. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the office of Governor was at that time filled by Lord William Bentinck.

(Private and confidential.)

FROM LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK TO LIEUT.-COLONEL MUNRO.

Fort St. George, August 2d, 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,

We have every reason to believe, indeed undoubtedly to know, that the emissaries and adherents of the sons of Tippoo Sultan have been most active below the Ghauts, and it is said that the same intrigues have been carrying on above the Ghauts. Great reliance is said to have been placed upon the Gurrumconda Poligars, by the princes. I recommend you to use the utmost vigilance and precaution; and you are hereby authorized, upon any symptom or appearance of insurrection, to take such measures as you may deem necessary. Let me advise you not to place too much dependence on any of the Native troops. It is impossible at this moment to say how far both Native infantry and cavalry may stand by us in case of need. It has been ingeniously worked up into a question of religion. The minds of the soldiery have been inflamed to the highest state of discontent and disaffection, and upon this feeling has been built the re-establish-

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ment of the Mussulman government, under one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan. It is hardly credible that such progress could have been made in so short a time, and without the knowledge of any of us. But, believe me, the conspiracy has extended beyond all belief, and has reached the most remote parts of our army; and the intrigue has appeared to have been every where most successfully carried on. The capture of Velore, and other decided measures in contemplation, accompanied by extreme vigilance on all parts, will, I trust, still prevent a great explosion.

I remain, my dear Sir, your obedient servant,

W. Bentinck.

Subjoined is Colonel Munro's reply.

Anantpoor, 11th August, 1806.

My Lord,

I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter on the 2nd instant. On the first alarm of the conspiracy at Velore, I dispatched orders to watch the proceedings of the principal people of Gurrumconda, for I immediately suspected that the sons of Tippoo Sultan were concerned, and I concluded that if they had extended their intrigues beyond Velore, the most likely places for them to begin with were Chitteldroog, Nundidroog, Gurrumconda, and Seringapatam.

Gurrumconda is perhaps the quarter in which they would find most adherents, not from any thing that has recently happened, but from its cheapness having rendered it the residence of a great number of the disbanded troops of their father, and from the ancestors of Cummer ul Din Khan having been hereditary Killedars of Gurrumconda under the Mogul empire, before their connection with Hyder Ally, and acquired a certain degree of influence in the district which is hardly yet done away. The family of Cummer ul Din is the only one of any consequence attached by the ties of relationship to that of Tippoo Sultan; and I do not think that it has sufficient weight to be at all dangerous without the limits of Gurrumconda.

The Poligars, I am convinced, never will run any risk for the sake of Tippoo's family. Some of them would be well pleased to join in disturbances of any kind, not with the view of supporting a new government, but of rendering themselves more independent. The most restless among them, the Ghuttim-man, is fortunately in confinement; and I imagine that the others have had little or no correspondence with the Princes. Had it

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been carried to any length, I should most likely have heard of it from some of the Poligars themselves.

The restoration of the Sultan never could alone have been the motive for such a conspiracy. Such an event could have been desirable to none of the Hindoos who form the bulk of the Native troops, and to only a part of the Mussulmans. During the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder, the Native troops, though ten or twelve months in arrear—though exposed to privations of every kind—though tempted by offers of reward, and though they saw that many who had gone over to him were raised to distinguished situations, never mutinied or showed any signs even of discontent. Occasional mutinies have occurred since that period, but they were always partial, and had no other object than the removal of some particular grievance. The extensive range of the late conspiracy can only be accounted for by the General Orders having been converted into an attack upon religious ceremonies; and though the regulations had undoubtedly no such object, it must be confessed that the prohibition of the marks of castes was well calculated to enable artful leaders to inflame the minds of the ignorant,—for there is nothing so absurd but that they will believe when made a question of religion. However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the sepoys Christians. The rapid progress of the conspiracy is not to be wondered at, for the circulation of the General Orders prepared the way, by spreading discontent; and the rest was easily done by the means of the tappal, and of sending confidential emissaries on leave of absence. The capture of Velore, and, still more, the rescinding of the offensive parts of the regulations, will, I have no doubt, prevent any further commotion,—for the causes being removed, the discontent which has been excited will soon subside and be forgotten. The Native troops, sensible of their own guilt, will naturally for some time be full of suspicion and alarm; but it is hardly credible that they will again commit any acts of violence.

TO HIS FATHER.

[*On the same subject.*]

Anantpoor, 4th September, 1806.

DEAR SIR,

MY promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel, about which you appear so anxious, is an old affair. I am about half way up the

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list, next to John Dighton; and Davidson, who has given you so much trouble, is about a dozen lower down. ——— is, I suppose, gentleman-usher to all old Indians, on their arrival in Edinburgh; for I find that he introduces all those who visit you. I imagine that those Indians, from their talking of nothing but India, must be very insipid company to the old resident natives of Scotland.

I do not admire the plan of the ———'s, in setting George to read so early. Had he been the son of Scribblerus, or Mr. Shandy, such an experiment might have been expected; but I could not have believed that —— would have tried it. She may make her son puny and sickly by such early studies, without making him a bit wiser than other boys who begin three years later: he will get sore eyes and wear a wig, and be tormented by his playfellows.

Alexander will have written to you of the peace with Holkar. The armies have returned into quarters, and there is at present no likelihood of any of the Native powers interrupting our tranquillity. A very serious mutiny took place in June, among the sepoys at Velore, in which sixteen officers and about a hundred Europeans of the 69th regiment, lost their lives. The fort was, during some hours, in the possession of the insurgents, but was very gallantly recovered by Colonel Gillespie, who happened very fortunately to be in the command of the cavalry at Arcot, and hastened to Velore on the first alarm, with the 19th light dragoons and 7th regiment native cavalry. Some of his own letters, of which I inclose a copy, will give you a full account of the affair.

A committee was appointed to investigate the causes of the insurrection. It has lately been dissolved; but I have not heard what report it has made. I have no doubt, however, that the discontent of the sepoys was originally occasioned by some ill-judged regulations about their dress: and that it broke out into open violence, in consequence of being encouraged by the intrigues of Tippoo, son of Moiz ul Din, then a prisoner in the place. The offensive article of the regulations which occasioned so much mischief, and which has since been rescinded, ran in the following words:—

10th.—"It is ordered by the regulations, that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear ear-rings when dressed in his uniform. And it is further directed, that at all parades, and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion

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shall be clean shaved on the chin. It is directed also, that uniformity, as far as is practicable, be preserved, in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip."

This trifling regulation, and a turban, with something in its shape or decorations to which the sepoys are extremely averse, were thought to be so essential to the stability of our power in this country, that it was resolved to introduce them, at the hazard of throwing our Native army into rebellion. One battalion had already at Vellore rejected the turban, and been marched to Madras, with handkerchiefs tied about their heads; but the projectors were not discouraged. They pushed on their grand design, until they were suddenly stopped short by the dreadful massacre of the 10th of July. They were then filled with alarm: they imagined that there was nothing but disaffection and conspiracy in all quarters, and that there would be a general explosion throughout all our military stations. There was, unfortunately, however, no ground for such apprehensions; for almost every person but themselves was convinced that the sepoys, both from long habit and from interest, were attached to the service—that nothing but an attempt to force the disagreeable regulation upon them would tempt them to commit any outrage, and that whenever this design was abandoned, every danger of commotion would be at an end, and the sepoys would be as tractable and faithful as ever. Their discontent had nothing in it of treason or disaffection. It was of the same kind as that which would have been excited in any nation, by a violent attack upon its prejudices.

Peter the Great found the Russian beard a tough job. Beards and whiskers are not now such weighty matters in Europe as formerly; but even now, an order to shave the heads of all the troops in Britain, leaving them only a lock on the crown like Hindoos, or to make all the Presbyterian soldiers wear the image of the Pope or St. Anthony, instead of a cockade, would, I suspect, occasion some expressions, if not acts, of disloyalty. A stranger who reads the Madras regulation, would naturally suppose that the sepoys' beards descend to their girdles, and that they are bearded like the pard; but this is so far from being the case, that they are now, and have been, as long as I can remember, as smooth on the chin as Europeans, making a due allowance for the difference of the razors employed on the two subjects. And as to the hair upon the upper lip, its form is so much like that which sometimes appears upon the upper lip of our own

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dragoons and grenadiers, that none but the critical eye of a shaver could distinguish the difference. Had the grand projected shaving-match terminated without accident, it might have amused the spectators like a pantomime upon a large stage; but when it is considered how many brave men have lost their lives by it, one cannot help feeling for the national character.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

The date uncertain.

DEAR SIR,

MY last letter to any of the family at home was, I believe, to Erskine, and I then told her that I should make a remittance for the purchase of Leven Lodge. Some letters, both from you and her, gave me reason to fear that it might be sold, and that you would be forced to leave it. I hope that I have not been too late; for my mother appears to be attached to the place, and has enjoyed better health at it than she has done for some time, and she would probably not be so well any where else. It would, at all events, be very distressing to her to be driven to seek another habitation; for even a better one would not please her so much. She would regret the loss of her walks in the garden, and of all the trees and shrubs she has been accustomed to take care of. Messrs. Harington, Cockburn, and Harington, of Madras, have promised to remit to you an order for 2000*l.* sterling, by the first opportunity. This money is meant for the purchase of Leven Lodge; but should that place have been unfortunately already sold, you can then buy any other which you think will be agreeable to my mother. I hope she received the two shawls mentioned in the inclosed bill, which were consigned by the Monarch, in March 1802, to Munro and Brown.

The treaties with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah give us the greatest accession of territory ever acquired on any former occasion. Not having seen the schedules, I do not exactly know the amount of the revenue; but I have heard that the cessions from Berar are estimated at sixty lacs, and from Scindiah at one crore and seventy lacs of rupees. We get the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and all Scindiah's possessions to the northward of Icypoor, Jandipoor, and Gohud; a part of Guzerat, Ahmednuggur in the Deccan, and Cuttack, which connects the Northern Circars with Bengal: General Wellesley dictated the terms. The gradual

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conquest of India might have been considered as certain, when Bangalore was taken; for when the Mysore power was broken, there was no other that could resist us. Tippoo himself was incapable of making any great exertions in the war in which he lost his life. Several of the principal powers have already received a subsidiary force; and there is little doubt that most of the others will follow their example hereafter, either with the view of defending themselves against external enemies or rebellious competitors; for in Eastern governments, the death of the reigning prince is usually followed by a disputed succession: whenever they submit to receive a subsidiary force to be constantly stationed in their dominions, they have, in fact, lost their independence. They are influenced by the councils of the British Government in India; they become accustomed to its superiority; they sink into the rank of tributaries; and their territories, on the failure of heirs, or perhaps sooner, will form provinces of the British Empire.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

I cannot better conclude the present chapter, than by inserting a letter to his sister, which announced his intention of quitting India; a design which he carried into effect soon after the letter itself was dispatched.

Anantpoor, 5th August, 1807.

DEAR ERSKINE,

A NUMBER of your letters have reached me within these few months; and I am not sure whether or not I have answered any of them: they are dated the 21st of June and 31st of December, 1806, and the 2nd of January and 6th of February, 1807. One of them contains four sheets and a half, which is perhaps the cause of my not having before ventured to confess that I had received it. The climate of Scotland has, by your account, improved very much in its effects on the growth of trees. I find some difficulty in believing this, because it is contrary to the course of nature; for men and women have always observed, that as they grow older, every thing else degenerates. The seasons become more inclement, and corn, and animals, and trees, more stunted in their growth. But your trees—your ivy—have escaped the influence of this general law, by their having been protected in their tender years by some firs. I remember two of

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those generous natives of our isle, as you call them, at Northside, and though they were at least fifty years old, they were scarcely twenty feet high: they certainly did not shoot up three or four feet in a season, in their youth; yet they were the two most respectable trees in that part of the country; and I doubt if your woods can show any thing like them. Trees in this country, with the advantage of artificial watering, hardly ever shoot more than six feet in a season, and in general, not more than four or five; but much less if goats get among them. I have a great mind to bring home a flock of five hundred or a thousand, if I can get a passage for them, merely to show you what they can do in one day in your elephant woods. I think they would finish the leaves in the forenoon, and the bark in the afternoon. But, it is in vain to talk of trees and goats to a politician; and I wish, therefore, that I could tell you who this Mr. Paul is, about whom you ask. Some say that he is a tailor, who brought out a long bill against some of Lord Wellesley's Staff, and was in consequence provided for; others say that he was an adventurer, who sold knicknacks to the Nabobs of Oude. All that I know for certain is, that he is a great patriot, and that if you are obliged to get patriots from India, it is high time that I were home.

I am now preparing to quit this country: I have written for a passage, and mean to go to Madras next month; and if nothing unexpectedly occurs to detain me, I shall sail in October, and reach England, I hope, in March. I shall leave India with great regret, for I shall carry with me only a moderate competency, while by remaining four or five years longer I should double my fortune; this, however, is of little consequence, as I am not expensive. But what I am chiefly anxious about is, what I am to do when I go home. I have no rank in the army there, and could not be employed upon an expedition to the Continent, or any other quarter; and as I am a stranger to the generous natives of your isle, I should be excluded from every other line as well as military, and should have nothing to do but to lie down in a field like the farmer's boy, and look at the lark sailing through the clouds. I wish to see our father and mother, and shall therefore make the voyage; but I much fear that I shall soon get tired of an idle life, and be obliged to return to this country for employment.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

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[*The following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Thackeray at this time, are too valuable to be withheld.*]

"It is an old military privilege, which has at all times been very fully exercised, to abuse the civil powers. I bear it with a Christian spirit of resignation, because most know, that all officers, and especially ensigns, always speak from the best authority, and that it therefore becomes us to hear what they say with proper deference."

The above relates to a complaint of a subaltern officer, who, when travelling through the country, could not, as he asserted, procure as many chickens and eggs as he wanted, though he saw the former running about before him.

"I regret your loss (alluding to his removal to a higher situation) on my own account, for I used to enjoy a fortnight's halt at Adoni, and talking of Greeks and Trojans, after having seen nobody perhaps for three or four months before, but Bedurs* and Gymnosophists."

"I hope that you will, in your new Government, carry into practice the maxims of the Grecian worthies, whom you so much admire; and that you will act in all situations, as Aristides would have done; and when you feel that your English spirits prompt you to act first and think afterwards, that you will recollect the temper of Themistocles—'Strike, but hear!' You are not likely to be placed in exactly the same situation; but many others may occur, in the course of your collectorate life, that will require as great a command of temper; and if there is any faith in physiognomy, I have no doubt that you will rival the Grecians; for, after you were cropt by the Adoni barber, you were a striking likeness of a head of Themistocles I recollect to have seen in an old edition of Plutarch's Lives, printed in the time of Queen Elizabeth."

"The fault of our judicial code is, that there is a great deal too much of it for a first essay. Our own laws expanded gradually during several centuries, along with the increasing knowledge and civilization of the people, so that they were always fitted in some measure to their faculties. But here, without any preparation, we throw them down in the lump among a parcel of ignorant Rayets and equally ignorant Pundits, whose legal knowledge does not extend beyond the term *puns of cowries*, for that

* A caste of Poligars, a sort of Militia Peons.

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is almost all that is to be found in Halhed's boasted code of regulations."

"It would have been better to have curtailed nine-tenths of the regulations,—to have confined appeals within narrower limits, and to have made the zillah judges absolute. Some fifty or sixty years hence, when the natives had become less litigious, and had learned what laws they had got, the sages of those days—some future 'Scotts and Malcolms'—might give them a more extensive code."

"I hope the conjunction of so many judges at Masulipatam will reform its morals. If the daughters of Belial are as numerous as they were in former times, I am afraid that they will still hold the balance of power, and that a conflict between them and the judges will be an 'impius congressus.'"

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CHAPTER VI.

Returns to England.—Revisits Northwood-side.—Feelings on that occasion.—Paper on the subject of Free Trade with India.—Marriage.—Appointed Head Commissioner to inquire into the Judicial System.—Returns to Madras.

EARLY in the month of October 1807, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro prepared to carry into execution the determination expressed in the preceding letter. With this view he applied for and obtained permission to resign his situation in the Ceded Districts; and, after a few days spent in putting the affairs of the province in order, he proceeded to Madras. Here he found a homeward-bound fleet in readiness to sail; and having bidden farewell to such of his old friends as still remained at the Presidency, and written a few valedictory letters to others scattered through the provinces, he took his passage for England.

Upwards of seven-and-twenty years were now elapsed since the date of Colonel Munro's first arrival in India, during the whole of which time he had been actively and busily employed either in a military or a civil capacity. As a soldier, he had served with marked distinction in many campaigns, rising from the rank of Cadet through all the gradations to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy; as a civil officer, he had discharged duties more arduous and more important than ever before fell to the share of a British functionary in the East; and his talents, both for business and war, were acknowledged, on all hands, to be of the very highest order. But it was not in the mere routine of regimental and revenue affairs that

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Colonel Munro was admitted to possess a degree of intelligence rarely equalled. His thorough knowledge of the native languages—his intimate acquaintance with the native character—his facility of seeing into and unravelling the intricacies of native diplomacy, rendered his opinion on all points connected with Indian administration peculiarly valuable; and for many years back it had been sought with eagerness, and received with attention, by the highest authorities in the country. Of this, ample proof may be found in the recorded minutes of the several Governors-General, by all of whom, from Earl Cornwallis downwards, he was consulted, and to all of whom he freely gave advice, whether the question at issue referred to the settlement of the land revenue or the organization and equipment of the army. In a word, from the date of his appointment as assistant to Colonel Read in the Baramahl till his embarkation at Madras, Colonel Munro may be said to have moved in a much wider sphere than that which he was supposed to occupy; being in more than one instance the author of arrangements in which he never appeared. It is not, therefore, surprising to find, that his departure from the scene of his labours was lamented by men of all ranks as a serious national calamity, or that he carried with him the admiration and esteem of the liberal, with the respect even of those to whom his merits rendered him personally an object of something like envy.

After a pleasant passage of rather more than five months, Colonel Munro landed at Deal on the 5th of April, 1808. His feelings on that occasion were necessarily of a very mixed nature. Early associations were, of course, brought back in full vigour to his mind; but there arose with them that apprehension of unseen evils,—that dread of finding realities less bright than the pictures drawn by imagination, which cannot be wholly shaken off by any man who, after an absence of eight-and-twenty years, is about to revisit the haunts of his youth. Nevertheless, his anxiety to enjoy again

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the society of his relatives was too great to permit him to linger unnecessarily in the South. He hurried through Kent, and having transacted certain business, which detained him, till the summer was far advanced, in London, he took the road to Scotland.

Some of the melancholy forebodings which seem to have assailed him on his first landing in England, were now destined to receive their accomplishment. Time had wrought its usual effects both upon his own family and elsewhere; for the mother whom he loved so tenderly, died a year previous to his arrival, and his father was fast approaching that state, when the society even of those nearest and dearest to us can scarcely be said to interest or amuse. Of his brothers, likewise, two had paid the debt of nature; and of his early acquaintances many were sleeping with their ancestors, whilst such as survived were unavoidably changed, if not in disposition and feeling, at all events in outward appearance. Yet nature was the same now as she had ever been, and the lapse of so many years had in no degree affected the intensity of delight with which Colonel Munro was accustomed to look abroad upon her charms.

The following letter to his sister presents as beautiful and affecting a picture as I recollect ever to have seen, of the feelings of a noble-minded man under very peculiar circumstances.

Glasgow, 25th October, 1808.

DEAR ERSKINE,

YOUR letters to Alexander and me, without date as usual, have arrived just as punctually as if they had had that qualification. We shall not be in Edinburgh till the 2nd November, and instead of paying you a visit at Ammondel, I must, I believe, stay at home until I recover my hearing; for I am now deafer than ever I was in my life, owing to a cold which I caught, or rather which caught me, a day or two before I left Edinburgh. I have been little more than a dumb spectator of all the gaiety which you talk of, for I can hardly hear a word that is said. I never was so impatient under deafness as at present, when I meet every moment in my native city old acquaintances, asking fifty

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questions, which they are obliged to repeat four or five times before they can make me comprehend them. Some of them stare at me, and think, no doubt, that I am come home because I am deranged. I am so entirely incapable of taking any part in conversation, that I have no pleasure in company, and go into it merely to save appearances. A solitary walk is almost the only thing in which I have any enjoyment. I have been twice at Northside, and though it rained without ceasing on both days, it did not prevent me from rambling up and down the river from Claysloup to the Aqueduct Bridge. I stood above an hour at Jackson's Dam, looking at the water rushing over, while the rain and withered leaves were descending thick about me, and while I recalled the days that are past. The wind whistling through the trees, and the water tumbling over the dam, had still the same sound as before; but the darkness of the day, and the little smart box perched upon the opposite bank, destroyed much of the illusion, and made me feel that former times were gone. I don't know how it is, but, when I look back to early years, I always associate sunshine with them. When I think of Northwood-side, I always think of a fine day, with the sunbeams streaming down upon Kelvin and its woody banks. I do not enter completely into early scenes of life in gloomy, drizzling weather; and I mean to devote the first sunny day to another visit to Kelvin, which, whatever you may say, is worth ten such paltry streams as your Ammon.

The threat conveyed in this letter, of visiting Northwood-side again, was, on more than one occasion, punctually executed; when every spot, endeared to him by the recollections of other days, received its due share of notice. He bathed in the pool, wandered through the woods, sat down upon the old bench, and even climbed the aged tree among whose branches, or at whose roots, he had so frequently indulged his youthful taste for reading; and he turned his back upon the place at last, not without a pang of regret, such as he felt when starting into life upwards of a quarter of a century before.

When the novelty of his situation had in some degree worn off, and things began to assume around him the air of familiar objects, Colonel Munro gradually entered, with more and

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more spirit, into the society of his native land He now spent a good deal of his time in Edinburgh, where he resumed his favourite study of Chemistry, by attending Dr. Hope's lectures, and by perusing such works as had come out since his departure for India; whilst he varied his mode of life by making frequent excursions, sometimes to the seat of his brother-in-law, sometimes to other places. He began, likewise, to look around for some desirable property, with a view of purchasing, if not of permanently settling on it; and more than one appears to have been submitted to his choice, without effect. But Colonel Munro was not calculated to lead long, and with comfort to himself, a life of absolute idleness. The want of employment began at last to be felt; and having in vain sought to dispel, by wandering from place to place in England, the weariness arising out of it, he removed to London, where he took up his temporary abode.

Any man who has distinguished himself as Colonel Munro had done, is sure of finding a ready admission into the best society of the British capital. Many of his personal friends were settled there; and his reputation having already extended far beyond the bounds of their circle, he found all classes anxious to cultivate his acquaintance. He met their advances with the frankness which was natural to him; and, whatever the company might be into which accident threw him, he both received and communicated gratification and amusement. Himself a man of letters and science, he was perfectly at home in the literary and scientific circles: accustomed to think profoundly on state questions, he was equally at home among politicians; whilst even with that large portion of men who depend upon their titles, their wealth, or other adventitious circumstances, for importance, he never failed to be at ease. In mixed or large companies, he was indeed usually silent, because his deafness hindered him from comprehending what was said when many persons spoke together; but, wherever an opening was made, he delighted and

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instructed those about him by his playful wit and great conversational powers.

Whilst such was the tenor of his more social life, Colonel Munro never ceased to take a lively interest in the situation and prosperity of the country. He watched with an attentive eye the progress of the war in the Peninsula, of which, even when affairs wore the most unpromising aspect, he predicted the successful termination; and he invariably advocated the sound policy of putting forth the whole strength of the empire in the struggle. It has been asserted, I believe upon good grounds, that his Grace the Duke of Wellington made more than one effort to obtain the assistance of his well-known talents. Be this however as it may, there can be no doubt that he was in constant communication with the Duke, than whom no man more justly rated him; whilst his own anxiety to join the Peninsular army was such, that he would, in all probability, have been permitted to indulge it, had not his services been again required by the East India Company.*

One of Colonel Munro's chief amusements at this time consisted in attending the discussions in the courts of law, and the debates in Parliament. The former interested him chiefly because they enabled him to compare one mode of administering justice with another; the latter could hardly fail of exciting the deepest attention from one whom nature herself had intended for a statesman. Whether he entertained at this period any idea of obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, I am unable to say; but events were fast approaching which furnished the least reflecting with the power to judge as to his fitness or unfitness for the office of a senator.

The period drew near when the Company's charter must either expire or be renewed, as it had been twenty years previously; and public attention began to be directed, with no

* When the expedition to the Scheldt was fitted out, Colonel Munro accompanied it as a volunteer, and was present with Sir John Hope, whose guest he was, at the siege of Flushing. Unfortunately none of his letters written at the time, have been preserved.

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ordinary eagerness, to the result. Parliament, partaking in the feeling which existed to a greater or less degree throughout the country, determined to do nothing rashly, but to examine the matter fully, and in all its bearings, ere they came to any determination. Many persons connected with India were, in consequence, summoned to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, touching the relative advantages and disadvantages of renewing or withdrawing the charter, in whole or in part, unchanged or modified,—whilst the question of throwing open the trade of India was discussed with all the violence which such a question was likely to excite in this commercial country. I speak not my own language, but that of the Commons of England,* when I assert, that among all whose opinions were sought on that memorable occasion, Colonel Munro made the deepest impression upon the House, by the comprehensiveness of his views, by the promptitude and intelligibility of his answers, and by the judgment and sound discretion which characterised every sentiment to which he gave utterance. I cannot occupy the pages of a work like this, by transcribing from a volume which is within the reach of all who take an interest in East India affairs; but of his mode of arguing, as it appears in certain memoranda which have fallen, with other of his manuscripts, into my possession, it were unjust not to afford at least one example.† The following very able paper relates to the question of opening the trade to India with the outports; though whether intended for his own perusal only, or drawn up at the request of another party, I am unable to state. It will be read with peculiar interest at a moment when the affairs of the East are again about to be made the subject of parliamentary discussion.

* See the Fifth Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on India Affairs, 1813.

† The reader is referred to the Appendix for many more, which, if he be desirous of making himself acquainted with the views of a great Indian statesman, will amply compensate the labour of perusal.

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MEMORANDUM ON OPENING THE TRADE WITH INDIA TO THE OUTPORTS, 1st FEBRUARY, 1813.

THE discussions between his Majesty's ministers and the Directors of the East India Company, regarding the renewal of the Charter, have apparently broken off upon a point which neither party seem at first to have looked forward to, as coming within the range of concessions to be made to public opinion. The opening of the import trade from India directly to the outports of the United Kingdom is never once mentioned by Lord Melville in his letters of the 28th December, 1808, and 17th December, 1811. Though he insists on the admission of the ships as well as the goods of private merchants to the trade of India as a preliminary condition, yet this applies only to the exports from the outports and the imports to the Port of London; and in one of his last communications to the Directors, on the 4th of March, 1812, in answer to the sixth article of the hints submitted to him by that body, viz. "The whole of the Indian Trade to be brought to the Port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales," —he observes, that the adoption of the regulation suggested in this proposition will probably tend to the security and advantage of the revenue.

Lord Buckinghamshire's letter, of the 27th of April, 1812, contains the first notice of an intention to open the import trade to the outports; and in his letters of the 24th December, 1812, and 4th January, 1813, he states, that this change in the original arrangement had been the result of personal conferences with persons interested in the trade of the outports, who had shown that the liberty of export without that of imports would be nugatory.

The sentiments of the Directors, on the opening of the trade, had long been known to His Majesty's Government. It might have been expected, therefore, that ministers would at once have formed their own plan, and proceeded to carry it into effect; or if, before taking this step, they wished to receive every suggestion by which it might be improved, it might have been expected that they would have begun with examining the petitions, and hearing the Delegates from the outports; that they would then have heard the objections of the Directors to the claims of the outports,—admitted them if just, rejected them if otherwise; and, finally, have adopted their own plan, either as it originally stood, or with such amendments as might have been judged expedient.

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But instead of following this course, ministers enter into a long negotiation with the Directors: they bring forward no complete system; they discuss insulated points, keeping others in reserve, as if the Directors had been the agents of a foreign power; they confer with the Delegates, and call upon the Directors to relinquish to the outports the right of importing direct from India, which they themselves, until a very late period of the discussions, had evidently no idea of conceding. Whether both parties knew previously, or not, that to the outports the right of exporting without that of importing direct, would be nugatory, the appearance at least of such a knowledge ought to have been avoided.

The Directors, however, by not objecting to Lord Melville's declaration, that ships should clear out from the outports, had virtually acceded to it, and ought therefore to have agreed also to the claim of importing direct, provided it could be shown that this measure would be productive of no serious injury to the Company or the public. Among the evils which they regarded as the inevitable consequence of it, were, the great additional facility of smuggling, the diminution of their sales and profits to such a degree as to incapacitate them from paying their dividends, and of necessity the complete breaking up of the system by which India is now governed. Ministers maintained, that, as guardians of the public revenue, they were as much interested as the Directors in the prevention of smuggling, and that regulations adequate to this purpose could easily be framed. It was surely no very unreasonable request, on the part of the Directors, to be made acquainted with those regulations, on the success or failure of which the very existence of the Company would probably depend; but ministers refuse to give them this satisfaction, and require that they shall consent to run the risk of annihilation, on the assurance that a remedy will be found perfectly competent to save them. Ministers were bound to have shown clearly, not only that smuggling could be prevented, but that very important benefits would accrue to the public from the opening of the trade to the outports, before they pledged themselves to so great an innovation; for, without weighty and manifest advantages, what wise statesman would hazard such a change in a system which has been found so eminently useful in all the main points for which it was intended? It is well known that smuggling has been carried on to a great extent in the river Thames; that it is only within these few years that means have been devised to restrain it at all, and that it is still too frequently practised with

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mpunity. It would of course extend in proportion as the field for it was widened; and if it has not yet been subdued in the river Thames, in what time, it may be asked, can we rationally hope that, by any set of regulations, it will be effectually repressed in the numerous creeks along the coasts of Scotland and Ireland? Have such regulations been yet prepared? and have the Commissioners of Customs and of Excise expressed their confidence that they will be efficacious? If they have not, the experiment of a free trade with India should for the present be confined to the Port of London. For this restriction, the Directors have, on their side, the high authority of some of our most eminent statesmen—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the late Lord Melville. Against it, the ministers have, in their favour, commercial theory and the arguments of the outports, promising great commercial advantages.

No candid man, who considers fairly the correspondence that has passed on this subject, can resist the belief, that Government has throughout been guided solely by a view to the public good; and we may therefore infer, that besides the security of the revenue, the advantages which it contemplates are—the encouragement of our own manufactures by an increased export, and the benefit both of India and this country by an augmented importation of Indian produce.

Now as to the exports, it is not likely that they will ever, unless very slowly, be much extended; opposed by moral and physical obstacles, by religion, by civil institutions, by climate, and by the skill and ingenuity of the people of India.

Some increase there will undoubtedly be, but such as will arise principally from the increase of European establishments, and of the mixed race which springs up in their chief settlements.

No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, will always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camblets are warmer and more lasting than ours.

Glass-ware is in little request, except with a very few principal natives, and, among them, is confined to mirrors and lamps; and it is only such natives as are much connected with Europeans, who purchase these articles. They keep them, not to gratify

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their own taste, but to display to their European friends when they receive their occasional visits;—at all other times they are put out of the way as useless incumbrances. Their simple mode of living, dictated both by caste and climate, renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of the house and the table utterly unserviceable to the Hindoos; living in low mud-houses, eating on the bare earth, they cannot require the various articles used among us. They have no tables; their houses are not furnished, except those of the rich, which have a small carpet, or a few mats and pillows. The Hindoos eat alone, many from caste in the open air, others under sheds, and out of leaves of trees, in preference to plates. But this is the picture, perhaps, of the unfortunate native reduced to poverty by European oppression under the Company's monopoly? No—it is equally that of the highest and richest Hindoo in every part of India. It is that of the minister of state. His dwelling is little better than a shed: the walls are naked, and the mud-floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. He has no furniture in it. He distributes food to whoever wants it; but he gives no grand dinners to his friends. He throws aside his upper garment, and, with nothing but a cloth round his loins, he sits down half-naked, and eats his meal alone, upon the bare earth, and under the open sky.

These simple habits are not peculiar to the Hindoos. The Mohammedan also, with a few exceptions among the higher classes, conforms to them.

If we reason from the past to the future, we can have no well-founded expectation of any considerable extension of our exports. If it were as easy, as some suppose, to introduce the use of foreign articles, it would have been done long ago.

From the most distant ages of antiquity, there was a constant intercourse between India and the countries on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, without the introduction of foreign manufactures among the Hindoos; and since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, there has been an extensive trade with the western nations of Europe, without any one of them having been more successful than the ancients in prevailing upon the Hindoos to change their customs so far as to use their commodities in preference to their own. Neither the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, nor the English, have in this respect effected any considerable change; but this will be imputed to the restraints imposed by the monopolies of trading companies. Let us impute

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to this cause all that we can. Still we should expect that some progress would have been made in three centuries; that if all the natives could not purchase foreign articles, the rich would, and that the demand would be greatest at the chief seats of European trade, and lessen gradually towards the interior. But the inhabitants on the coast are as little changed as in the interior. The very domestics of Europeans adopt none of their customs, and use none of their commodities.

The monopoly-price, it will be said, has prevented their sale among the natives; but it is well known that European articles are often sold at prime cost. The monopoly might impede, but it would not completely hinder the sale. It ought to operate in India as in Europe. It does not prevent us in Europe from purchasing, it merely compels us to take fewer of the articles we want.

The monopoly of spices by the Dutch, and of piece-goods by the English, has not prevented their sale in Europe. It has made them dearer, and made the consumers take less. Why should a monopoly of exports to India not follow the same course? Why should not the principal native merchants purchase of the Company, and retail to the country dealers? We must therefore look to some other cause than monopoly for the little progress that the demand for European commodities has made among the Hindoos. Besides the peculiar customs and institutions and climate of India, we must look to the superior skill of the Indian workmen. We cannot profitably export to them until our own fabrics excel theirs. When this is accomplished, no extraordinary skill will be required to extend the sale. The Indians will purchase, even though we should endeavour to prevent them, just as we in this country purchase the contraband stuffs of India.

But though there are unquestionably many obstacles to any considerable increase of our exports to India, the prejudices of the natives have not so much share in them as is usually supposed. Their prejudices extend only to intoxicating liquors, and certain prohibited kinds of food. They do not reach to other things. Every article, as it comes from the hands of the workman, is pure. There is no prejudice against the cloth, though there may be some against the particular form of the garment. The grand obstacles to our exports are the inability of the Indians to purchase our commodities, and the cheapness and excellence of their own. It is obvious, therefore, that their demand for ours

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can only be enlarged either by a general improvement in the condition of the natives of India, or by a reduction in the price of European articles: coarse woollens are undoubtedly the article which would find the greatest sale, if they could be furnished at a moderate rate. Almost every native of India has a broad piece of coarse woollen, which he uses as a Highlander does his plaid. He sits on it, sleeps on it, and wraps it round him when he walks abroad in cold or rainy weather. Its texture, something like that of the camblet of our boat-cloaks, and its hairy surface, which throws off the rain, is better adapted for the purposes for which he wants it, than the European manufacture; and he would consequently, even if the prices of both were equal, still give it the preference. In seeking, therefore, to extend our exports, cheapness is not the only requisite,—the tastes of the natives must also be studied. Some articles, which we like plain, they like with the most gaudy colours, and *vice versâ*. Though simple in their diet and habitations, they are as fond as any people in the world of expense in their dress, their servants, and whatever they consider as show or luxury; and, as far as their means go, they will purchase for these objects, from foreign countries, whatever their own does not produce. It is singular, however, that after our long intercourse with India, no new article of export has been discovered, nor the quantity of any old one materially augmented; but with regard to the imports, the case is different. A new article, raw-silk, has been introduced by the Company into Bengal, and imported largely into this country; and cotton and indigo, the old products of India, have only of late been brought in any great quantity to this country.

Though the trade between Britain and India is not at all proportionate to the population and resources of the two countries, yet, when we consider the skill and industry of their respective inhabitants, the nature of man constantly searching for new enjoyments, and the invariable effect of commerce in exciting and supplying new wants, we cannot refuse to admit that a change must at last be effected, however slow and imperceptible in its progress, when the mutual demand of the two countries for the products of each other will far exceed its present amount. Whether an increased export of European commodities is to arise from furnishing them cheaper, or of a fashion more suited to the Indian market, in either case the event is to be looked for rather from the exertions of private traders than of the Company's servants; not that the Company's servants are deficient in

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knowledge or industry, but that they are not stimulated by the same deep interest; that they are few in number; and that it is contrary to every rational principle of calculation to suppose, that in so small a body the same amount of talent shall be found as among the immense multitude of men trained in commercial habits, from which the merchants of Britain may select their Indian agents.

The danger of colonization from the resort of European adventurers to India, is an objection entitled to very little weight. They could not by law become proprietors of land. They could not become manufacturers, as the superior skill and frugality of the natives would render all competition with them unavailing. They could find no profitable occupation but as mechanics for making articles for the use of European residents, or as traders or agents; but the number employed in these ways would necessarily be limited by the extent of the trade, without a corresponding increase of which it could not be materially augmented. The Europeans who might go out to India, in consequence of the opening of the trade, would be chiefly the agents of commercial and manufacturing houses in this country. But it is manifest, that only so many as could be advantageously employed would be kept in India. If it appeared on trial that more had been sent out, the excess would be recalled. If adventurers went to India to trade on their own account, their number also would necessarily be regulated by the extent of this trade, and those whom it could not employ would be obliged to return. Few Europeans would go to India only with the view of returning ultimately to their own country. Those who remained could not colonize. Confined to trade, excluded by law from the possession of land, and unable to find employment as manufacturers, they could never rise into a flourishing colony. They would be kept down by the great industrious Indian population, and they would probably dwindle into a race little better than the mixed caste descended from the Portuguese. But supposing even an extreme case, that all the Europeans who could find employment in trade in India should settle there, and abandon for ever their native country, and that their number should in time amount to fifty thousand, yet even this number, unlikely as it is ever to be seen, would, if left to itself, be lost among a native population of forty millions. Its own preservation would depend on the stability of the British Government; and even if it were disposed to act in opposition to its own interest, it would be unable to disturb

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the authority of Government for a moment. The only way in which European colonies could be productive of mischief to India, would be from the increased number of adventurers, who, in spite of every precaution, would escape to the interior to seek service among the native princes, and might, when they were fortunate enough to meet with an able one of a warlike character, instigate him to invade the territory of his neighbours. But we are now subject to the same inconvenience by the desertion of European soldiers and settlers. It would unquestionably be augmented, but not to any alarming degree by colonization.

The Americans were not checked in their enterprises by an exclusive Company. They had a free trade to India, and ought, according to the advocates of that system, to have undersold the Company, and filled all India with European goods. But the Americans have not done this, say the outports, only because they are not a manufacturing people, and because, as they carry on a profitable trade with Spanish America for bullion, they find it more convenient to export that article to India, in order to provide their cargoes there. But what is to hinder them, when they come to this country with the produce of their own, from sailing to India with a cargo of English manufactures? Nothing but the conviction that they could not be sold. Were it otherwise, no American, any more than a British merchant, would carry bullion where there was a market for goods, and content himself with a profit on one cargo where he might have it on two. The Americans are a sober, industrious, persevering race, with all the skill and enterprise of our outport merchants, and all the attention to their interest of trade, which forms so strong a contrast between the private trader and the agent of a joint-stock company; and with all these useful qualifications, every man who is not blinded by prejudices in favour of old establishments, will readily believe that the Americans, had they not unhappily quarrelled with this country, would in time have circulated our manufactures to every corner of India. On viewing, however, the process by which they were to arrive at this end, we perceive, with surprise, that almost from the beginning they had been going rather backward than forward. In the six years from 1802-3 to 1807-8, the proportion of goods to bullion in their exports, was only about fifteen per cent.; in the three years from 1808-9 to 1810-11, it was not more than eight per cent.: and these goods were almost exclusively for the use of Europeans. The active American trader therefore has not been more suc-

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cessful than the agent of the Company in imparting to the natives a proper taste for British manufactures; and indeed there is but too much reason to fear that all the enterprise of the outport merchant will be equally fruitless, and that the natives will, in spite of reason and free trade, still persist in preferring their own fine stuffs to the dowlas of England.

Persia and Arabia on the west, and the countries on the east of India, either have what they want within themselves, or they receive it cheaper from India than they can be supplied from Europe.

On the whole, there is no ground to look for any considerable increase in the demand for our manufactures by the natives of India, unless by very slow steps, and at a very distant period; and it may be questioned whether the private traders would export so much as the Company are now bound to do.

With respect to the imports from India, the quantity is expected to be increased, and the price diminished, by shorter voyages and other causes. Most of the articles now imported, India is capable of supplying to any extent; and every measure by which the demand can be enlarged and the supply facilitated, of those commodities which do not interfere with our own manufacture, promotes the national prosperity.

Piece-goods, the great Indian staple, have fallen in demand, in consequence of the improvement of the cotton fabrics of this country, and are likely to fall still lower. As they cannot rise without interfering with our own manufactures, all that is necessary is to supply ourselves the demand which still remains, without the aid of foreigners. Cotton is grown in abundance in most parts of India; but while it sells at only half the price of that from America, it can be brought with advantage to England only when the trade with America is interrupted.

The importation however might, it is supposed, be greatly increased by more attention to clearing the cotton in India, where labour is so cheap—by cultivating, from among the various kinds which are indigenous to the soil, that which is best adapted to our manufactures, or by introducing the culture of foreign cotton, such as that of America or Bourbon. In the north of India the fields of cotton are artificially watered; in the south they are left to the rain and dews of heaven. In the north, therefore, the Bourbon and American cotton, both of which require much moisture, would be most likely to succeed.

For encouraging the culture of the best kind of Indian cotton,

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and clearing and preparing it for the home-market, and for promoting the growth of foreign cotton in India, no person is so well qualified as the manufacturer of this country; for he who has sunk a large capital in expensive buildings and machinery, has a much deeper interest in securing a durable supply of good cotton than the merchant who can with much less inconvenience divert his capital from one object to another.

Bengal raw-silk has been for some years imported to the amount of about 600,000*l.* per annum, and may be increased to any extent, if protected by duties against the French and Italian.

Indigo is now imported equal at least to the demand of all Europe.

Sugar, by a reduction of the existing duties, might be brought home to any extent; but would prove highly detrimental to the West India planters.

Pepper and drugs have long been supplied equal to the demand, which cannot admit of any considerable increase, as the consumption of these articles must, from their very nature, be at all times extremely limited.

These are the chief articles of Indian produce which find a sale in the European market. Of some, the consumption can never be much increased, and of others it cannot be augmented without injury to our home manufactures and West India colonies. All of them, with the exception of sugar and cotton, require very little tonnage; and the expected increase of shipping must consequently prove delusive, until we can either undersell the American cotton, or consent to bring the Indian into competition with the West Indian sugar.

The same outcry is still kept up against the Company's monopoly, as if it still existed in all its former strictness, and were not in fact nearly done away. That monopoly, however, even in its most rigid state, has been the source of many great national advantages. It enabled the Company to expend annually 64,000*l.* in the purchase of Cornwall tin, which they exported without any profit, and often with a loss. It enabled them to expend 80,000*l.* for the encouragement of the Indigo manufacture, and to support the traders in that article during their difficulties, by an advance of nearly a million sterling. It enabled them to persevere in the preparation of raw-silk, though they lost on their sales of that article, from 1776 to 1785, to the amount of 884,000*l.*; and it enabled them to acquire the extensive dominions now

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under the British Government in India. These territories never could have been acquired, had there not existed a Company possessing the exclusive trade—directing their undivided attention constantly to India, and employing their funds in extending their dominions. The whole of the merchants of Britain trading separately, could neither have undertaken nor accomplished so magnificent an enterprise.

The Company are willing that the trade should be thrown open to the Port of London; but this, it is asserted, will not afford a wide enough range for the skill and enterprise of British merchants. But are these qualities monopolized by the outports? Have not the London merchants their full share, and have they not capital sufficient to carry on all the Indian trade which the most visionary theorist can look for? If freedom of trade is claimed on the ground of right, and not of expediency, every port in the kingdom ought to enjoy it; for they have all the same right abstractedly. But, unfortunately, it is necessary to withhold the benefit from them, because the warehouse-system and customhouses are not yet sufficiently spread along our coasts; or, in other words, because a great increase of smuggling would unavoidably ensue. The East India Company are attacked from all quarters, as if they alone, in this kingdom, possessed exclusive privileges. But monopoly pervades all our institutions. All corporations are inimical to the natural rights of British subjects. The corn laws favour the landed interest, at the expense of the public. The laws against the export of wool, and many others, are of the same nature; and likewise those by which West India commodities are protected and enhanced in price. It would be better for the community that the West India planter should be permitted to export his produce direct to all countries, and that the duties on East India sugar, &c. should be lowered.

When the petitioners against the Company complain that half the globe is shut against their skill and enterprise, and that they are debarred from passing the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and rushing into the seas beyond them with their vessels deeply laden with British merchandise, they seem not to know that they may do so now—that all private traders may sail to the Western coast of America; to the Eastern coast of Africa, and to the Red Sea; and that India, China, and the intervening tract only are shut. Some advantage would undoubtedly accrue to the outports by the opening of the trade. But the question is, would this advantage compensate to the nation for the injury which the numerous establishments in the metropolis connected

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with India would sustain, and the risk of loss on the Company's sales, and of their trade by smuggling?

The loss of the China trade would subvert the system by which India is governed: another equally good might possibly be found; but no wise statesman would overthrow that which experience has shown to be well adapted to its object, in the vain hope of instantly discovering another.

It yet remains doubtful whether or not the trade can be greatly increased; and as it will not be denied that London has both capital and mercantile knowledge in abundance, to make the trial on the greatest scale, the danger to be apprehended from all sudden innovations ought to induce us to proceed with caution, and rest satisfied for the present with opening the trade to the Port of London. Let the experiment be made; and if it should hereafter appear that London is unable to embrace the increasing trade, the privilege may then, on better grounds, and with less danger, be extended to other places.

If Government cannot clearly establish that no material increase of smuggling, and no loss on the Company's sales, and consequent derangement of their affairs, would ensue from allowing the outports to import direct from India, they should consider that they are risking great certain benefits for a small contingent advantage.

It was not, however, by drawing up such papers as this, nor yet by his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons alone, that Colonel Munro took part in the great question then under discussion. Very many of the articles which appeared in the several Reviews—a still greater number of the pamphlets which came out at the time, were submitted, previous to publication, to his revision; whilst not a few, for which others have obtained credit, owe all their merits to him. It seemed indeed as if business, public business, was the atmosphere in which alone he could freely breathe; for even his period of professed relaxation was more than half consumed in attending to matters of high moment. Yet was Colonel Munro all this while a close and attentive inquirer into other sciences. Besides chemistry, for which his partiality continued unabated, he studied political economy in the abstract, as he found it taught in the pages of Ricardo and his rivals, making his remarks upon each passage as he

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went along; and carefully distinguishing between truth and falsehood, between matters of fact and empty theories.

It can hardly be forgotten, that one effect produced by the minute inquiry into the affairs of India at this time, was to occasion a somewhat unfavourable impression, throughout the country at large, of the operation of our judicial system in the East. The same sentiments were entertained by the Court of Directors, who determined to send out a Commission with full powers of inquiring into, and ameliorating, such defects as might be found to exist; and Colonel Munro's intelligence on judicial as well as financial subjects was so apparent to all who enjoyed an opportunity of appreciating it, that he was at once selected as a fit person to be placed at its head. He accepted the appointment, more from a desire to better the condition of the natives, and to benefit his employers, than through any craving of personal ambition; and as he had been detained in England, whilst the late inquiries were pending, by an especial act of authority, the fact of his having overstayed the customary term of leave was not permitted to interfere with the arrangement. But previous to his setting out, a change took place in his own circumstances, which gave a turn to the whole of his after-life, —I allude to his marriage with Miss Jane Campbell, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of —— Campbell, Esq. of Craigie House, Ayrshire. This event occurred on the 30th of March, 1814, at the residence of Mr. Campbell; and it is not going too far to affirm, that whether his own happiness be considered, (a feeling which, with Colonel Munro, could not operate unless there were some other being besides himself on whom to fix his affections,) or the advantages conferred upon the society of Madras, by the presence there, in the highest station, of a lady remarkable for the correctness of her manners and steadiness of her principles, nothing could have befallen more fortunate or more beneficial in its general consequences.

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CHAPTER VII.

Appointment of a Commission to revise the Judicial System.—Colonel Munro nominated Chief Commissioner.—Arrival in India.—Objects of the Commission.—Letters to Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Cumming, &c.

COLONEL MUNRO had been married barely seven weeks, the greater portion of which he spent in London,* when, his commission being duly made out, and all other things prepared, he set sail with his wife and sister-in-law, from Portsmouth. Of his feelings on this occasion, no more accurate picture could be drawn than is contained in the following characteristic letter to his sister.

TO HIS SISTER, THE HONOURABLE MRS. ERSKINE.

Portsmouth, 5th June, 1814.

MY DEAR ERSKINE,

I AM once more so far on my way to India. I went on board yesterday to look at our cabins. They are as well fitted up as can be expected, but the best cabin appears very small to any person who is not accustomed to a ship. Mine is large enough, but it is very low, not above five feet high, so that I cannot stand upright in it; and I must, after sitting some time, be cautious in rising or I should knock my head against the beams. I know from the experience of many a hard blow, that it will be some weeks before I learn that the roof of the cabin is lower than my head. The want of room is not what I dislike most in a sea voyage; the long confinement to the same set of people, and the unvaried prospect of sky and water for several months are much more unpleasant.

We came here on the 3rd, and were to have sailed on the 4th; but an order from the Admiralty has directed us to wait till the

* One brief interval of something less than a fortnight was occupied in paying a visit to Paris, which, being filled by the armies of the Allied Sovereigns, presented more than common attractions to Colonel Munro. But of the adventures attending that excursion I know nothing.

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10th for some Brazil ships; but as it is possible that fresh orders may be received to-night, directing us to sail to-morrow, I write while there is an opportunity for it, for even if I stay here some days, I may not be able to get a moment to myself. You can have no idea of the confusion and bustle of an inn in a seaport town full of people going abroad; having nothing to do here, impatient to sail, and running about visiting, to fill up the time. I am already tired of this state of suspense, and wish we were fairly at sea. I was in this place thirty-five years ago, on my way to India, and much more impatient than now to reach my destination; for my head was then full of bright visions which have now passed away. I now, I am sorry to say, go out not to hopes but to certainties; knowing exactly the situation in which I am to be employed, what I am to have, and when I may return. This to many people would be very comfortable; to me, it is dull and uninteresting. I had more pleasure from my excursion of a few days to Paris, than I shall derive from a residence of two or three years in India. My inability to speak the French language with any kind of ease was a great inconvenience, and could I have remained in Europe, I would have gone to France, and lived entirely in French society until I was able to speak the language fluently. By going back to India for a short time I become unsettled; I am neither an Indian nor an European, and am prevented from forming any fixed plan of life. But it is idle to talk of life when the best part of it is past. I hope that you will be as good a correspondent as when I was in India before. Direct to "Colonel Thomas Munro, Madras," and never send letters by a private conveyance. When I return, I hope I shall see more of Ammondel than I have done. Remember me kindly to Mr. Erskine and all the family. Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

On the 16th of September, after a pleasant passage of eighteen weeks, during which the ship did not touch at any port, he reached his place of destination; and landing immediately, found himself once more amid the bustle and gaiety of Madras.

The following letter to his friend George Brown, Esq., gives a lively description of the manner in which he was received at the Presidency.

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TO GEORGE BROWN, ESQ.

Madras, 30th September, 1814.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

We arrived here on the 16th, without touching anywhere, after a passage of above eighteen weeks, of almost constantly fine, and often very hot weather. I was so tired of a ship-life that I often wished I had never left home; and what I have gone through since landing has not tended to change my mind on that subject. I have now been here a fortnight, and have had so little time to think about any thing, that I scarcely know whether I am in India or not. I have been attending to nothing but visits. The first operation on landing is for the stranger to visit all married people, whether he knows them or not. Bachelors usually call first on him—then his visits are returned;—then his wife visits the ladies; and altogether there is such calling, and gossiping, and driving all over the face of the country, in an old hack-chaise, in the heat of the day, that I can hardly believe myself in the same place where I used, in former times, to come and go quietly without a single formal visit. But all this is owing to a man's being married. Had I come out single, I should have been settled at once, and nobody would have thought it worth their while to call upon one. While I am passing through all these tiresome ceremonials, I often wish that I were trudging through the streets to Russell-square. We are all going to a ball to-night, to be given to General Abercrombie on his departure; and here another trouble begins which I did not foresee—I shall be obliged to stay late to bring away the ladies. General Abercrombie has given much satisfaction here; and his conduct has contributed greatly to remove the party-spirit which formerly subsisted among different classes of people. Every thing is now perfectly quiet; and, as far as I can learn, there is no appearance of any disturbance either domestic or foreign.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Thomas Munro.

Colonel Munro was not, however, disposed to waste time, of which he entertained a just value, in such pursuits as these. He addressed himself at once to the novel and important task which had been committed to him; for a due understanding of which it will be necessary to lay before the

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reader a brief sketch of the state of affairs as they then subsisted.

The great leading feature of that system of internal administration, which owes its origin to the Marquis Cornwallis, consists in the total separation of the two departments of justice and revenue, by depriving the collector of all authority as judge and magistrate, and vesting it in the hands of a distinct functionary. To this may be added the entire subversion of every native institution,—the transfer of the property in the soil to a distinct class of persons, dignified with the appellation of Zemindars,—the overthrow of all hereditary jurisdictions,—the abolition of all hereditary offices, and the removal, as much as possible, out of the hands of the natives, of every species of power and influence.

According to the ancient customs of the country, as they prevailed under the rule of the Mogul dynasty, the officer to whom was committed the charge of administering the revenue in every district, was, by whatever title recognised, vested, throughout that district, with extensive judicial authority. It was his business, in an especial manner, to hear and to determine all disputes arising out of the collection of the land-tax; to defend the rayets, or cultivators, against the tyranny of his own officers, and to cause restitution to be made, whenever he saw reason to believe that more than the established amount had been exacted from them. Both the titles of these functionaries, and the extent of their jurisdiction, necessarily varied in different parts of India; but their power, whether it extended over a province, a portion of a province, or a single village, was everywhere in effect the same.

Again, in all Indian villages there was a regularly constituted municipality, by which its affairs, both of revenue and police, were administered, and which exercised, to a very considerable extent, magisterial and judicial authority, in all matters, private as well as public. At the head of this, in the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George, were

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the Potail and the Curnum; the former being to his own village at once a magistrate and a collector; the latter, a sort of notary or public accountant. Under them again were the Talliars, or village police, consisting of a body of hereditary watchmen, whose business it was to assist in getting in the revenue, to preserve the inhabitants from outrage, to guide travellers on their way, and who, in the event of any robbery, were held answerable for the loss, in case they failed to produce the thief or the property stolen. But the most remarkable of all the native institutions was, perhaps, the Punchayet. This was an assembly of a certain number of the inhabitants, before whom parties maintaining disputes one with another pleaded their own cause, and who, like an English jury, heard both sides patiently, and then gave a decision according to their own views of the case. The Punchayet was of course differently composed, according to the matters referred to its decision. If a question relating to caste, for example, required solution, the Punchayet was not made up of the same description of persons who sat upon a question of doubtful right to property; but in all cases the Punchayet, though a tribunal voluntarily constituted, that is to say, not formally recognised by the Mohammedan authorities, exercised a great and beneficial influence among the people. Thus were all the affairs of the village, the collection of the revenue, the adjustment of disputes, the suppression and sometimes the punishment of crime, conducted within itself, not perhaps in every instance with perfect justice or impartiality, but at least with promptitude, and the utmost regularity.

Precisely similar to this was the arrangement or organization of larger tracts of country, which embraced, according to circumstances, ten, twenty, forty, or a hundred villages. At the head of each of those was a Zemindar, Poligar, Teshildar, or Amildar, with his establishment of paykes or peons under him, who received the revenue from the potails, exercised an authority over them, and was to his district, in almost every

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respect, what the potail was to his village. Thus, under the Mohammedan rule, the same system prevailed which, according to the best authenticated traditions, existed long before the Mogul conquest,—the administration of revenue carrying along with it, necessarily and in all cases, the power of a magistrate, and the authority of a judge.

Arrangements such as these are, it must be confessed, diametrically opposed to all the prejudices arising out of an acquaintance with the state of Europe only. An Englishman, for example, finds it extremely difficult to believe, that a system which intrusts to one and the same man the duty of collecting the revenue and deciding upon the propriety of that collection, can be a good one; or that justice can be effectually administered by persons possessing no legal power of enforcing obedience. We are so much accustomed to the checks and balances, to the forms, technicalities, and peculiar arrangements of our own constitution, that we consider all others as imperfect; and the farther removed they may be from the institutions in which we take so much pride, the louder are we, for the most part, in condemning them. I am not exactly prepared to say, that over the minds of the framers of the judicial and revenue system of 1793 these sentiments had any weight; but experience has proved that they acted in every particular as if such had been their opinions.

By the regulations of 1793, all power was at once withdrawn from the hands of the natives. The village municipalities and zemindars' jurisdictions were abolished; and the provinces being parcelled out into zillahs or districts, a certain number of Europeans were nominated to take charge of each. These consisted for a while of no more than two functionaries; one of whom was enjoined to confine himself entirely to the collection of the revenue; whilst upon the other devolved the entire charge of hearing and determining all causes, of taking cognizance of all offences, and of regulating all matters of police, throughout a population of perhaps two

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hundred thousand souls. To aid him in the discharge of his momentous duties, he was furnished with a single European registrar, and a specified number of native assistants, whilst his police consisted of some twenty or thirty hired darogahs, posted at different stations, from one extremity of his zillah to another. But the powers of the zillah judge were, both in civil and criminal cases, exceedingly limited. He could give no sentence against which appeals were not allowed; whilst with persons accused of offences beyond the pettiest breaches of the peace, he could adopt no summary mode of proceeding. They must be of necessity committed to gaol, there to be kept till the arrival of the Circuit Court, before which, after the manner of the gaol deliveries at home, they were arraigned. In a word, the Judicial system of 1793 swept away by one stroke every institution under which the natives of India had lived for ages, and introduced a mode of acting, as nearly analogous to that pursued in England, as was at all compatible with the circumstances of the two countries.

The immediate consequence of this was, that the collector ceased to be in the slightest degree useful, beyond the mere routine of levying and getting in the taxes; for he was not permitted to decide any dispute even between his own servants and the rayets, all such being cognizable by the judge and magistrate alone. Now it is very obvious, that no human exertions could possibly keep pace with the demands for justice made in this manner, among a people numerous, tenacious of their rights, and proverbially litigious. Had he been authorised to act according to the free and unfettered dictates of his own discretion, the zillah judge would have been quite incompetent to try and decide all the causes, criminal as well as civil, which arose within his district; but as if it had been the design of those who framed the judicial system, that it should prove as little efficient as possible, the zillah judge was not left to act according to the dictates of his own discretion. A variety of forms were invented, with-

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out paying strict attention to which no business could be done: a legal language was introduced entirely unknown to the mass of the people; depositions were required, in all cases, to be taken down in writing; oaths were fabricated, repulsive to the religious prejudices of the community; nay, a distinct class of vakeels or advocates was created, without the intervention of one or more of whom no suit could be tried, nor any cause determined. As a matter of course, the business of every court fell, under such circumstances, rapidly into arrear, till at last the evil became so glaring, as to demand the application of some immediate remedy.

Perhaps the whole history of legislative proceedings furnishes no parallel to the method now adopted for the purpose of obviating the disproportion which was found to exist between the demand for judicial decisions and the occasions for them. Instead of simplifying the process, or increasing the number of legal courts, the authorities of the day enacted a regulation, by which certain fees were required to be paid by all persons on the institution of suits; whilst various additional sums were demanded during the progress of these suits, by the imposition of taxes upon the proceedings. In like manner, measures were adopted with a view of facilitating the collection of the revenue, not less novel, though even more iniquitous. It is to be observed, that the parties paying had all along been referred to the regular courts for redress, in case of extortion on the part of the agents of Government, though the latter were authorised to seize and put up for sale the zemindar's estate, in the event of his falling into arrear; whilst the unhappy zemindar was left to enforce his rents from the rayets by the tedious process of a legal action. After most of the zemindars had fallen victims to this system, the power of summary distraint was extended to that order, and the rayets in their turn suffered all the miseries attendant upon the condition of men placed beyond the protection of the law. No doubt the courts were open to them: they could institute proceedings against the zemindar

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for oppression; but the expense attending the suit was in many instances heavier than could be borne; whilst the delay in bringing it to a close, rendered it ruinous in all. For, in spite of the late measures, the files of the different courts continued to exhibit a melancholy list of arrears. Appeals, moreover, being permitted from tribunal to tribunal, no man could tell when his cause would be decided; because no man could tell whither it would be carried by his defeated and irritated opponent.

In this state things remained during many years, vice and misery increasing with a rapidity which set all corrective measures at defiance. It was not that there ever existed the slightest disinclination to administer justice with strictness and assiduity. Whatever may have been the results of their efforts, no person can deny to the judicial servants in India the praise of excellent intentions and great zeal; but the system was one which could not fail to render abortive the most unremitting exertions of such as acted under it. It was to no purpose that partial changes were from time to time effected. The entire scheme being founded on a belief that the natives were unworthy of trust; that they could not be allowed to participate in the labours of administration, except in the most subordinate capacity; that all their institutions were as faulty in practice as they were wrong in theory; and that even Englishmen ought not to be placed in situations where interest and moral rectitude were in danger of clashing, proved utterly unmanageable from the plain and obvious absence of adequate means to direct it aright. There is not space for illustrating the truth of these assertions in a work like the present; but he who desires the most ample information, is referred to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, than which no abler document has ever been laid before the public.

The Bengal judicial and revenue system made its way slowly, and by degrees, into Madras; in some of the provinces subjected to which, it can scarcely be said to have

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come into operation so late as 1808. This was not owing to any lack of zeal on the part of its inventors, nor yet to a conviction among the heads of departments at Fort St. George, that the system was imperfect; but the Madras provinces came gradually into our possession, and they were for the most part, when first acquired, managed by men who saw much in the Bengal system to condemn. Canara and the Ceded Districts, for example, two of the most extensive provinces in this part of India, were acquired in, comparatively speaking, modern times; and both from Canara and the Ceded Districts, the new judicial system was, at least for a while, carefully excluded. But no exertions on the part of the collectors could successfully oppose the wishes of the Government for the time being; and not long after Colonel Munro resigned his charge, the new system was introduced into both provinces. The same results followed here which had occurred elsewhere; justice ceased, in a great measure, to be administered, and the increase of crime was appalling.

It is a curious fact, that whilst this state of things existed, and whilst the records sent home from time to time, by the supreme authorities in India, were filled with ample proofs of its existence, the formal reports from the heads of departments contained little else besides assurances of the "growing prosperity of the country." It is not less extraordinary, that for a long series of years the justice of these assurances was never once questioned, and that the voluminous reports forwarded from the zillah judges and collectors, though teeming with the most important information, were cast aside as so much waste-paper. Happily for the interests of British India, however, a more just notion of what was due both to themselves and to their subjects, was at length excited among the home authorities. Doubts began to be entertained, that matters might not be exactly in the flourishing condition represented. Inquiries were instituted, in consequence, into the contents of documents, too long neglected; and the truth burst upon the minds of those engaged in them, with a force

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not to be resisted. Finally, the celebrated Fifth Report came out in 1812, which drew towards the affairs of India other eyes besides those of its immediate rulers, and measures began to be devised for the correction of a system, the inefficiency of which could no longer be denied. Hence arose the Commission of which Colonel Munro was appointed to act as head; a distinction for which his well-known acquaintance with the native character, and his thorough knowledge both of the new, and of the ancient systems of administration, eminently qualified him.

Whilst this important measure was in progress, a Committee of Directors was formed at the India House, for the purpose of corresponding with the most eminent of the Company's servants then in England, and gathering both their sentiments as to the operation of the judicial system, and their opinions touching certain proposed modifications of it. The answers sent in to the queries of that Committee have all been made public in the Second Volume of Selections, printed by order of the Court; but the peculiar circumstances under which they were drawn up deserves to be known. From the tone assumed in several dispatches lately transmitted to India, as well as from other causes, a notion generally prevailed, that it was the intention of the Court not to reform, but to abolish the judicial system; and as no rational man could well stand up as the advocate of so sweeping a measure, it is very little to be wondered at if the civil servants of the Company were decidedly opposed to it. The notion, however, gained additional strength, when the appointment of Colonel Munro, as head commissioner, became known; and there is no longer room to doubt, that not a few of the sentiments published in the volume just referred to, were delivered under an impression that extreme caution was necessary.

If men at home conceived an idea so erroneous, it is not surprising that it should have prevailed to a still greater degree abroad. Interest as well as honour was there brought

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into play; for the civilians could not but perceive, in the prospect of an overthrow of the system, an abolition of the many lucrative offices which they had hitherto filled; whilst it is fair to state, that a considerable proportion of them, though they saw that the machine worked badly, clung to the hope that in time it would right itself. It was in vain therefore that the Court of Directors, in one dispatch after another, assured them that a reform, not a repeal, of existing regulations was intended. They looked upon the Commission as devised to work the entire overthrow of that fabric which had once been designated "a Monument of Human Wisdom;" and they were prepared to throw every impediment in the way of the accomplishment of the task assigned to it.

With such a feeling abroad, it is scarcely necessary to say, that no man would have coveted, that very few would have accepted, the appointment pressed upon Colonel Munro. He saw before him, from the first, only difficulties and crosses; and as the powers of his Commission were to expire at the end of three years, he entertained but faint hopes of being permitted to effect one-twentieth part of the benefit which he felt himself capable of effecting. This he stated in a letter to a friend, previous to his departure from England; and the result proved that, to a certain extent at least, he had not calculated erroneously. Nevertheless he set sail, as has been described, — reached Madras in safety, and took the first opportunity of explaining his own views, as well as those of the Court of Directors. The following valuable paper places the object of the Commission in so true a light, that it ought not to be withheld.

Letter from Colonel Munro, First Commissioner, to D. Hill, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

24th December, 1814.

Sir,

In my letter of the 13th instant, I stated that I had carefully examined all the reports from the judges, collectors, and

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commercial residents, to the Committees of Police, from 1805 to the present year. From these materials very able reports have been framed, both by the late Committee of Police, and by that which preceded it; and both have suggested several important improvements in the existing system of police; but none of these have yet been carried into effect, nor have any of the amendments ordered to be made by the Honourable Court of Directors in their judicial dispatch of the 29th of April last, been rendered unnecessary by any late regulations of Government.

2.—As the whole subject of that dispatch therefore still remains for consideration, it may be proper to submit to the Governor in Council an abstract of its contents; exhibiting under two heads —first, all those matters which Government, after referring to the Sudder Adawlut and subordinate courts for their opinion, are to adopt or reject, as they think fit; and, secondly, all those on which the order for carrying them into effect is imperative, and no discretion is left with Government; and then to suggest the means by which the proposed alterations may be most readily accomplished.

3.—The points which are to be referred to the Sudder and subordinate courts for their opinion, and on which Government may exercise their discretion, are as follow:

1st. A revising of the forms of process in the Sudder and subordinate courts, "with the view of rendering the proceedings in civil cases as summary as may be compatible with the ends of substantial justice." Under this general injunction, attention is called to the following particulars.

2nd. Whether or not the reply and rejoinder may be dispensed with.

3rd. Whether "the practice prescribed by Regulation III. 1803, of taking down in writing all depositions, although delivered orally in open court," be necessary or not.

4th. A mature consideration of the subject of employing licensed vakeels "with a view of devising, if it be possible, a remedy for an evil so generally acknowledged."

5th. Whether the restrictions which formerly existed under Regulation II. of 1802, on appeals from the registers and judges of the zillah courts, should not be revised.

6th. Whether the fees and stamp-duties imposed by Regulations IV. V. and XVII. of 1808, have not served to discourage, and often to preclude, the fair claimant from applying to our judicatories.

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7th. What is the amount of the sum within which the execution of the judgment pronounced by the village potail, or punchayet, should not be stayed by appeal to the zillah court?

8th. Cases in which the principal zemindars may "be intrusted with the powers of an agent of police."

9th. Whether or not it would conduce "to the more prompt and convenient administration of criminal justice, if the zillah judges were to be so far invested with a jurisdiction in criminal matters, as to enable them to hear and determine all cases of public offence not of a capital nature, and now cognizable by the courts of circuit only."

10th. Whether the same important end would not "be materially furthered, were the collectors, acting as the magistrates of zillahs, to be empowered to punish offenders by corporal punishment, to the extent of thirty rattans; by fine, not exceeding one hundred Arcot rupees; and by imprisonment, not of longer duration than three months."

11th. Whether or not "the collector should be associated with the zillah judge, in the trial of offences at quarterly sessions."

12th. Whether "the sentence of the Provisional Courts of Circuit may not be carried into immediate execution, without a reference to the Nizamut Adawlut, when the guilt is clearly established, and there seems to the circuit judge no ground for recommending the prisoner to mercy; and, with the same view of expediting the administration of the criminal law, whether the present forms of proceeding in the court of circuit will not admit of simplification, consistently with the substantial ends of justice."*

4.—The following are the points of modification in the judicial system, on which the order for carrying them into execution is positive, and in which no other discretionary authority is left with Government, than merely as to the manner in which this is to be done.

1st. "No further appeal to be permitted from a decision of a zillah court, or an appeal from the register, or from any native tribunal."

2nd. Village punchayets to be authorised to hear and determine suits.

3rd. The potail, or head of the village, "by virtue of his office,

* This has reference to a regulation, which required that no capital sentence should be carried into execution till the proceedings of the trial had been revised by the highest legal court in the Presidency.

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to execute the functions of commissioner within his village, in the several modes prescribed by the Regulations."

4th. Intermediate native judicatures between the village and zillah court to be established, "and to be invested with a jurisdiction over a certain number of villages, so as that there may be three, four, or five in a zillah; and the judges to receive a fixed salary in addition to a fee on the institution of suits brought before them."

The order for the establishment of these native judicatures, though not absolutely unconditional, is so far positive, that nothing but some very serious obstacle is to prevent its execution.

5th. "The punchayet on a larger scale than that of the village, so as to have a greater selection of persons" to be employed under the native district judge.

6th. Suits brought under the cognizance of the potails and curnums to be altogether "relieved from fees and stamp-duties."

7th. The Sudder to receive from the subordinate courts, and furnish Government with yearly or half-yearly reports of the nature and number of suits, "in which the following particulars are to be stated."

> 1st. The number of suits instituted in each court now existing, or hereafter created, decided or dismissed, appealed or not, to what court, confirmed or reversed.
>
> 2nd. Original and appellate courts to show original and appeal suits, and proportion of appeals reversed or confirmed.
>
> 3rd. Average value of matter litigated; nature of the dispute; situation of the parties, particularly in cases of land; whether paying rent to Government, or zemindar, or other holders of land.

8th. The village police, agreeably to the usage of the country, to be re-established in the zemindary countries, and placed under the orders and control of the magistrate; and "in such other parts of the Madras possessions in which it may be found neglected, or in a mutilated condition, to be also restored to its former efficiency."

9th. On the completion of the village police, the darogah establishment and the police corps to be reduced as far as practicable.

10th. The superintendence of the village and zillah police to be transferred to the collector.

11th. The police of districts to be under the tishildar instead of the darogah.

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12th. "The agents of the collector in the administration of the police, will be the district amildars, or tishildars, and the village potails, curnums, and talliars, aided, as occasion may require, by the amildars' peons, and by the cutwalls and their peons, in large towns."

13th. The office of zillah magistrate to be transferred to the collector.

14th. The enforcement of the pattah* regulation to be secured by an adequate process, under the superintendence of the collector in his magisterial capacity.

15th. "No demand of a zemindar, &c. for arrears of rent, should be receivable in any court but upon a pattah."

16th. No zemindar to be at liberty to proceed to sell under distraint, without an order from the collector.

17th. Cases of disputed boundaries to be decided by the collector, on the verdict of a punchayet.

5.—The above abstract exhibits all the alterations in the judicial system which the Court of Directors have either ordered to be taken into consideration, or to be carried into execution by Government: of this last class, by far the most important one is the transfer of the police and magisterial duties from the zillah judge to the collector; and as all the rest are subordinate to and dependent upon this, it must necessarily be carried into effect before any one of them can be brought forward. I would therefore recommend that the court of Sudder Adawlut should be directed to prepare without delay a regulation for transferring the office of magistrate and superintendent of the police from the zillah judge to the collector. It would perhaps be advisable, that this regulation should be as short as possible—should be free from all details, and should simply authorize the transfer, and leave the collector, as magistrate, to be guided by the existing regulations. A more comprehensive regulation, containing all the rules which it may be deemed expedient to insert, may be framed hereafter; but no time should be lost in issuing the short one proposed.

6.—After investing the collector with the authority of magistrate, the court of Sudder Adawlut might be directed to prepare regulations to give effect to the other arrangements ordered by

* The pattah was a species of lease which the zemindar was required to grant to the rayet, and which secured to the latter the possession of his farm as long as he paid his rent.

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the Court of Directors, proceeding in the order of their relative importance.

The first regulation on this principle, therefore, should be one for restoring the management of the village police to the heads of villages, and of the district police to the tishildars or amildars, under the collector; the second should be a regulation for constituting heads of villages, by virtue of their office, native commissioners, and for the direction of village punchayets. The third should be a regulation for the appointment and guidance of native district judges, or commissioners, and district punchayets. The fourth should be a regulation authorizing the collector, as magistrate, to enforce the pattah regulations. The fifth should be a regulation to prevent zemindars and proprietors of land from distraining without the authority of the collector. The sixth should be a regulation placing the decision of the cases of disputed boundaries, alluded to in Regulation XXXII. of 1802, in the hands of the collector.

These six regulations, together with the one for transferring the authority of magistrate to the collector, will comprise all the points in which the orders from home are positive, and which therefore require immediate attention. After they are finished, the other articles, which embrace a revision of the process of the civil and criminal courts, the granting of criminal jurisdiction to the zillah judge, and the associating of the collector with him at the Quarterly Sessions, on which subjects the instructions of the Court of Directors are not absolute but conditional, may be taken into consideration. I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO,
First Commissioner.

Such were Colonel Munro's views of the measures necessary to give effect to our judicial system. With what spirit they were regarded by the authorities of Fort St. George, the following series of letters will best explain.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Madras, 20th January, 1815.

THE last letter from your son John and myself would have apprised you, that the business of the Commission is likely to encounter a good deal of delay in the beginning. Mr. Elliot

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received an impression, very soon after his arrival, that every thing was in the best possible state; that an approximation had been gradually making of late years to the system proposed in the judicial dispatch of the 29th of April, 1814; that much of it had, in fact, been anticipated; that more could hardly be done without danger; that great improvements had taken place since I left India: and that were I now to visit the districts, I would abandon all my former opinions, and acknowledge that the collector could not be entrusted with the magisterial and police duties, without injury to the country. Though I knew that there was no foundation for these assertions, it appeared to me necessary to wade through all the Police reports, and the proceedings of the Committee, in order that I might be enabled to assure Mr. Elliot, not as an opinion of my own, but as a fact drawn from these documents, that things remained just as they were seven years ago. After going through them, I found that the present Police Committee had not ventured to go so far as its predecessor in 1806. That Committee proposed to place the police under the collector; but this proposal having been rejected by the Bengal Government, as contrary to the Regulations, the present one has contented itself with recommending that the police shall remain under the zillah judge, but that the heads of villages shall be employed instead of darogahs. The President of this Committee persists strenuously in maintaining its doctrines. It was very natural that he should do so, while the Bengal Government supported the infallibility of the Regulations; but when the Court of Directors had given up this point, I hoped that he might have relaxed too: I however see little chance of such a change.

The President is undoubtedly a shrewd, intelligent man; but he has spent his life in the commercial department, excepting a few months that he was a circuit judge. He has therefore only that general knowledge of the inhabitants, of local institutions, and of revenue details, which any sensible man may derive from reading and conversation: he is totally without experience.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated 12th January, 1815.

I have been chiefly engaged, since my arrival here, in reading the Police reports of the last three years, and the proceedings upon them, in order to ascertain whether any measures

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had been founded upon them, which might render unnecessary any of those directed to be adopted by the judicial dispatch of the 29th April, 1814. After losing much time in going through them, I found that nothing had been done which was not known in England, when I left home. You are aware, that most of the men in office about the Presidency are Regulation-men, stickling for every part of the present system, and opposers of every reform of it from home.

One of the most important benefits that will accrue to the inhabitants, from appointing the collector magistrate, will be the prevention of distraint. Many rayets are now with me on this subject, from the Baramahl and the Ceded Districts. The exactions of many of the mootadars are carried to a most ruinous extent, and cannot be prevented by the courts. I sent an old rayet, of eighty years of age, from the Baramahl, to Mr. Cochrane yesterday, to take down his case, for the information of the members of the Revenue Board, who believe that our rayets are protected by our courts. He gives a very clear statement of his case: he has paid his rent regularly during seven years, and within that period has been compelled by different distraints to pay more than double his rent. He has given in two petitions to the court at Salim, for two different cases, one five years, and the other three years ago; he has paid deposit-fees, stamps, &c. and visits the court almost every month; but the number of his first petition has not yet come round. Under a collector-magistrate, the injury could not have happened.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated 1st March, 1815.*

I HAVE not written to you since my arrival, because there has been nothing done to write about. I have written fully to Mr. Sullivan, explaining the cause of the delay. I am not now, as when I was in the Ceded Districts, acting without interference, and authorized to pursue whatever measures I thought best for the settlement of the country; but am obliged, before I can take a single step, to wait for the concurrence of men who have

* Mr. Cumming was at the head of the Revenue and Judicial department in the Board of Control. He possessed the full confidence of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board; and it was at his Lordship's express desire that he corresponded confidentially, on matters of public business, with Sir Thomas Munro.

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always been averse to the proposed changes. The Government, with its secretaries, the Sudder Adawlut, and its register, and every member of the Board of Revenue, excepting Cochrane, are hostile to every thing in the shape of the rayetwar system.

* * * * * *

I think it necessary to caution you, that if it is expected that instructions are to be obeyed, the strongest and plainest words must be used: for instance, the expressions,—"It is our wish;"—"It is our intention;"—"We propose;" do not, it is maintained here, convey orders, but merely recommendations. Unless the words, "We direct,"—"We order," are employed, the measures to which they relate will be regarded as optional.

* * * * * *

You will observe, that during two successive years, there was not one appeal decided in the Sudder Adawlut; and that the judges of the subordinate courts seldom complied with the order of deciding ten causes monthly. Mr. ——, who was long a zillah judge, proposed that the zillah judges should be directed to transmit a report monthly or quarterly, exhibiting in different columns the date in each suit, of the complaint, answer, and of such document being filed. This would have shown at one view, the progress of every trial, and where the delay arose; but it was rejected, as instituting too severe a scrutiny into the conduct of the judges, and the accompanying paper substituted in its room.

I shall in a future letter explain the cause of the diminution of suits. You know very well that it does not proceed from the increased number of suits settled. But the great defect is, that no protection is afforded to the rayets. Those who do not know them, say that the courts are open; but when it is considered that rayets, on an average, do not pay above seven or eight pagodas rent, and that this sum is from one-half to one-third of the gross produce of their farms; any person may at once see how incapable such men must be of going to courts of justice. But even among those rayets who are more substantial, every person who has been much among them, knows that not one in ten will ever complain of the extra collections and extortions of renters: they are deterred by many considerations,—by the fear of not being able to bring proof, and by the dread of the renter's influence being exerted to injure them, whenever an opportunity offers. In order to protect rayets, it is not enough to wait for their complaints, we must go round and seek for them. This was the

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practice of every vigilant collector; he assembled the rayets of each village on his circuit, inquired what extra collections had been made, and caused them to be refunded. A renter who has four or five hundred rayets under him, imposes an extra assessment of ten or twelve per cent., and collects it, without difficulty or opposition, in the course of a few days. Suppose they should complain afterwards, which is seldom the case, the process of the court would occupy many months, probably some years, and they would be obliged to abandon their suit, from not being able, from their poverty, to wait its issue. An English farmer, or shopkeeper, would not pay an unauthorized assessment of ten or twelve per cent. above his rent; and people who make regulations in this country, scarcely seem to know that rayets are not English farmers, and that, in general, they pay every exaction, without resistance and almost without complaint. Even if there were any spirit of resistance to such demands, it would be effectually suppressed by the power of distraint. This power is directed by the judicial dispatch to be taken away; and many of the higher class of rayets will, in consequence, be encouraged to resist undue demands; but the great body of the rayets will still submit to them quietly. It will require a long course of years, perhaps ages, before they acquire sufficient courage and independence to resist; and until this change is effected, our present courts cannot protect them. We must adapt our institutions to their character; they can be protected only by giving to the collector authority to investigate extra collections, and to cause them to be refunded. I hope that Lord Buckinghamshire will take up this subject, and make the necessary orders be sent out. From an expression in a letter from Mr. Sullivan to his son, he seems to think that the Commission have authority to inquire into the revenue settlements. The dispatch certainly gives no authority of this kind. The Commission, however, has a kind of indirect control in revenue matters; for, in examining how far the courts protect the rayets, the inquiry will lead to the knowledge of their being compelled to pay extra assessments. Since my return to India, I have had visits from several rayets from the Baramahl and Ceded districts on this subject; and I have reason to believe that these demands are more general than before the establishment of the courts.

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Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 3rd March, 1815.

I WROTE to you on the 1st instant, mentioning the general state of affairs here. I have since then seen Mr. Gahagan, one of the late collectors in the Ceded Districts, and now one of the circuit judges of the Chittoor Court. He concurs in my opinion, that the courts cannot protect the rayets, and that unauthorized collections are greater since their institution than before, and that the evil can only be remedied, by giving to the collector authority to investigate and recover extra assessments from zemindars and renters. Every man who has been a rayetwar collector, knows that these exactions are made every where; but no man who has not been one, believes it possible, with so many courts open.

The inhabitants are yet unacquainted with the object of the Commission; but the universal opinion is, that it is appointed chiefly for the investigation of abuses in the revenue line. I do not undeceive them; for the belief has very good effects, as it deters the native head-servants from peculating to so great an amount as formerly; induces some of them to refund; and is at this moment, I believe, causing the cutcherry servants of Coimbatore to bring forward in the accounts of this year, lands which, though cultivated, have for some years been reported as waste. The rent of these lands, as stated by the people who bring forward the charges, is considerably above a lac of pagodas. As far as I can guess, from many communications with them, and making allowance for exaggeration, it may be about sixty thousand. The Board of Revenue, with the exception of Cochrane, believe that the whole statement is false. There is both falsehood and truth in it. Cochrane proposes that I should inquire into it in the course of my circuit; but this was objected to. The members of Government are also averse to my having any thing to do with it; so that I am afraid I shall not be permitted to make an investigation. If I can find any means of doing it in part, as connected with defects in the judicial system, I shall endeavour to carry it, so far at least as to show that the revenue has been defrauded to a considerable extent, and that those triennial and decennial leases afford great facilities for such practices.

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Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 14th March, 1815.

No orders have yet been issued for carrying into effect the instructions contained in the judicial dispatch of the 29th April, 1814; and the Commission consequently still remains at Madras. Mr. Elliot tells me that the resolutions of Government on the subject are printing for circulation, and that they correspond nearly with my view of it, except in not transferring the office of magistrate to the collector; but this is the most essential part of the whole, for without it, the collector will be merely the head darogah of police under the zillah judge, and the new system will be completely inefficient. No time should therefore be lost in sending out, by the first conveyance, a short letter, stating the heads of alterations in the present system, which are imperative and not optional with the Government here; and ordering them, not recommending, to be carried into immediate execution.

I have fully explained, in my letter to Mr. Sullivan, my reason for wishing to have only one person joined with me in the Commission, and to have him also an acting member of the Sudder Adawlut. It was evident, that while both the members of the Sudder Adawlut objected to every change, every measure which the Commission might propose to Government, when sent to that court to be brought forward as a regulation, would be kept back under some plea or other; and that while the Sudder Adawlut was dilatory and irregular in its own proceedings, no reform could be expected in those of the lower courts.

You will observe, that in the two years 1812 and 1813, there was not a single appeal decided. I have looked at some of the appeal cases, and am sorry to say that much of the litigation is occasioned by the judges being in general very ignorant of the customs of the natives, and of the internal management of villages. This arises from very few of them having been rayetwar collectors. I shall mention two cases which I read the other day.

The first originated in the zillah court of Trichinoply, in 1808. It was a suit instituted by some Bramins, to recover from the rayets of a village 1800 Rs., for their share of the crop, as Swami Bhogum, or proprietor's right. The rayets asserted that the contribution was not as proprietor's share, but voluntary to a pagoda. The curnum's accounts, which would probably have settled the matter, were refused by the judge in evidence, and the plaintiff cast. The Provincial Court reversed the sentence, and gave them

a decree; not only for the money which they claimed, but for the land, which they did not claim. The Sudder Court ordered the whole proceedings of both courts to be annulled, leaving the parties to pay their respective costs, and begin *de novo*, if they please.

The second is a suit brought by a relation, in the fifth or sixth degree, of the Poligar of Wariourpollam, to receive from the poligar an allowance in land or money, on account of his hereditary share of the pollam. He carries his cause in the Zillah and Provincial Court, and the sentence of the Sudder is not yet given; but I see, on the back of the paper, in ———'s handwriting, "I think the decree of the Provincial Court is right." Now I am positive that they are all completely wrong.

This cause, which has been going on for six years, would have been settled by a collector in half an hour. Indeed, the plaintiff would not have ventured to bring his case before a collector; for among the military zemindars, such as Wariourpollam, Calastry, Venkatgherry, &c. the nearest relatives, and far less the more distant, have no claim to the inheritance. The poligar usually gives to his brothers, &c. an allowance for their support, according to his own pleasure, not to any right. The plaintiff, I have no doubt, has been instigated by some vakeel to make the demand; for, whatever happens, his fees are secure. The irregularity and negligence of some of the courts have been so glaring, that the Sudder has been obliged to stimulate them by a circular letter. Stratton* wished to have established a more effectual check, by making them send reports showing the date of the institution of each suit, and of every document filed; but though he could not carry this, and will often be obliged to satisfy himself with a protest, his exertions will make all the courts more active.

The Commission, too, though it has not yet begun to act, does yet some good by its presence; for it is generally believed among the natives that it is authorized to inquire into all abuses, both in the judicial and revenue line; and this opinion has some influence in checking them. I have had rayets with me from almost every part of the country, with complaints; but I have no direct authority to inquire into revenue abuses. I can only take them up where they are connected with the judicial system.

* This gentleman was especially selected by Colonel Munro to co-operate with him in the Commission. It was not without much demur that his wishes were acceded to.

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Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 9th April, 1815.

* * * *

No regulations for village courts are to be framed, until it is ascertained whether the potails are willing to act. Who before ever heard of statesmen asking public servants, whether they are willing to do their duty? The question will surprise the potails much more than me, who know the men from whom it comes. No regulation for village police is to be drawn up till we know whether the potails are fit for the duty, and whether the tallaries are sufficiently numerous. The Native Governments never doubted the fitness of the potails; nor our own, till now. Who is to decide the point of their competency, if it is not admitted to have been established by universal practice? With regard to the tallaries, they have been working at them for ten years, without having learned much; and they may go on for ten longer, to as little purpose: for, how can it be otherwise, seeing that such inquiries were not made in many of the provinces before the permanent settlement, and, since that period, cannot be made with any effect, from their having rendered the curnums in a great degree independent of the revenue servants. In some districts, so far from knowing all the details of tallaries' allowances, I doubt if the collector knows the number of curnums, or even of villages, under him. To enable him to learn these matters, the curnums' regulation should be repealed, and the curnums should be placed entirely under the collectors. Even after this is done, some years will be required to enable the collector to establish his authority, and to procure the information wanted. But, rather than adopt this simple, and indeed only way of accomplishing the object, they will go on calling upon the collector for more information, who can only send them a copy of what they have got some years ago; or they will avail themselves of the judicial power, and issue a decree of the courts to compel the curnum to produce his accounts, who may produce what he likes, for there is not a soul about the court who can tell whether they are true or false.

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Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 20th June, 1815.

I HAVE received your letter of the 4th October last, inclosing extract from Mr. Colebrooke's minute, &c. on the 19th April. I have been busy ever since the 15th May in drawing up Regulations for potails, punchayets, &c. I could do nothing sooner; because it was only then that the answer of Government was received, informing the Commission that the regulations were to be prepared, on the principle that the police only, and not the magisterial office, was to be transferred to the collector. The regulations ordered to be prepared by the Commission, are ready; Mr. Stratton is looking over, correcting, and copying them fair, and they will be sent next week; that is to say, they will be sent to the Sudder Adawlut; for all regulations must be transmitted through that channel. The Sudder Adawlut may keep them some months before they submit them, with their remarks, to Government.

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The regulations are not exactly what I think they ought to be. I would have wished to have given greater authority both to potails and tishildars, as well as to commissioners. But it was necessary to limit the powers of these officers within narrow limits; for otherwise, the regulations would not pass here, and would certainly be thrown out by the Bengal Government. The great object is to get the system introduced in any way; when this is once effected, the necessary changes can easily be made hereafter. You already know that the Commission is composed only of Stratton and myself. It is quite enough; for the more members, the less is done. I wished on this account to have been sole Commissioner; but I see now, that nothing could be done without a member of the Sudder Adawlut in the Commission; for, unless Stratton were in that court, there would not be a single man there, or in the Government, to support the proposed changes. He will be opposed by both the other members; but still their opposition will be much less determined than it would have been, had he not been present to dissent from their opinions.

I wished, while the regulations are under consideration here, and in Bengal, to have made a circuit through the country, in order to inquire into the state of the village police; the effects of the judicial system in protecting the inhabitants from oppression,

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and also how far it was calculated, along with the leasing and permanent settlement system, to secure the rayets from extra assessments, and the revenue from embezzlement. But I see little chance of being permitted to enter into these inquiries efficiently, or in such a manner as to render them useful. Were I now collector of the Ceded Districts, or of any other district, I should be able to bring forward more information in three months than I shall now in three years as Commissioner. Look at the orders of Government in their consultation of 1st March, 1815, to the Commission, in which we are directed "to conduct all such investigations through the local officers, to conform to the established system of internal administration;" and compare these orders with those to Thackeray and Hodgson, when they made their circuits by the command of Lord William Bentinck. How am I to learn any thing, if I am limited to a consultation with the local officers? If they possess the information required, they may be called upon to furnish it, without my going to them. If they have it not, they will hardly assist me to acquire it; and to perform the duty which they have themselves neglected. The Commission ought certainly to have the same means of investigation that a collector has; and, for this purpose, the collector and magistrate ought to give notice to the heads of villages, curnums, and inhabitants, that they are to give information on any points on which it may be required from them by the Commission.

The Minute of Government, and the Letters to Government from the Commission, have been circulated to all magistrates and collectors, so that they must see how Government feels, when it cautions the Commission "to conform to the established system of internal administration," or, in other words, not to break the peace. Great abuses have prevailed, I believe, in Coimbatore, and some other collectorates; and I should like much to investigate the Coimbatore proceedings, in order to show Government, either that they are well-founded or not; but my being employed in the investigation will be opposed by almost every person in the different Boards here, because the abuses have chiefly arisen out of the leasing system, which they have supported. Chaplin, Ross, and one or two other rayetwar collectors, are the only persons in the country qualified to conduct such an inquiry; but they cannot be spared from their own districts; and if the inquiry is confided to two or three respectable senior servants, it will end in nothing being proved against the revenue

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servants of the collector, and in the inhabitants being convicted of a conspiracy, and in being consigned over to be plundered hereafter, withour any hope of redress. When the Commission was first appointed, the general belief among the inhabitants was, that it would inquire into revenue abuses as well as the defects of the judicial system; and this opinion created a considerable alarm among all the cutcherries whose conduct had been incorrect; but the alarm has now, I imagine, completely subsided. I lament that the Commission will not be able to do one-half of what might reasonably have been expected; but, unless the Bengal Government opposes every change, I hope that we shall at least be able to establish the village police and punchayets. If the collector is to be magistrate, a positive order must be sent from home; for you will see from the correspondence that there is no chance of the measure being otherwise adopted.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 1st September, 1815.

We have made no progress here since I wrote to you in June last. The resolutions of Government of the 1st of March, and my letters, will have informed you how little has been done; that no one thing has been finally done; that different points of the judicial despatch have been referred to the Sudder Adawlut, the Board of Revenue, and the Commission; that they are respectively to call upon the local officers for their opinions on certain points, and that they are then to frame the regulations.

These regulations, when framed, will be some months with the Sudder Adawlut, who will report upon them to Government, and Government will then send them to Bengal for the sanction of the Supreme Government. Some months will elapse, before their sanction is granted; they must then be translated, which will consume some months more; and by the time they can be circulated to all the districts, the Commission will have expired. The six regulations drawn up by the Commission, have been with the Sudder Adawlut about two months; and it is quite uncertain how much longer they may remain with them. Only one will be circulated, without reference to Bengal; it is that which transfers the police, but not the office of magistrate, to the collector and will not do any good. The Council will oppose the promulgation of the rest, without the authority of the Supreme Government. They will therefore be sent to Bengal; and as Lord Moira proposes that the two Governments should deliberate

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maturely on the whole subject of the judicial dispatch, and "avail themselves of the advantages of a mutual interchange of sentiments and suggestions, in the course of the deliberations respecting so serious an object," it may be some years before they are issued. Why should we amuse ourselves with interchanges of sentiments on things which have undergone a ten years' discussion, and which the Government at home has directed to be adopted? or of what use can it be, to import sentiments from Bengal, on punchayets and potails, which most of the public servants under that Presidency profess never to have heard of? I see no way of enabling the Commission to answer any of the objects of its institution, but by sending out orders without delay to the Government here, to carry into immediate execution, without reference to, or waiting for, an answer from Bengal to any reference that may have been made, all those modifications on which the Government at home have already made up their mind.

The proposed changes have many opponents; because there are only a few collectors who understand the nature of them, from not having seen potails and punchayets employed, before the introduction of the judicial code; they are opposed by many in the judicial line, who consider the present system, whatever it may be, as the best. They are opposed by some, from a sincere conviction that native agency is dangerous; and by some, because they have had no share in suggesting them; but the best-founded motive of opposition is one which has only lately appeared, namely, the probability that the natives will give so much preference to the settlement of causes by heads of villages and punchayets, as to leave so little business to the zillah courts, that many of them will be reduced. I do not believe that this would happen soon, because it will be a considerable time before the plan can be completely communicated to the natives; and the neglect or silent opposition it is likely to encounter will subside. But I am certain this result will follow, whenever it meets with proper support. In the outset, we shall have complaints from the judges of the ignorance of the potails and punchayets, their partiality and corruption. This will often be true; but the evil will be greatly overbalanced by the good. I only wish to see the plan introduced in any state, however imperfect,—its defects can be gradually corrected; and I am convinced that, under every disadvantage, it will work its own way.

It was my intention, if there had been time enough, to have visited every district under the Madras Government, in order to

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have ascertained upon the spot the opinions of the people respecting the judicial system; but this will now be impossible, as a whole year of the life of the Commission has already nearly elapsed. I should have begun with Chittoor, and then taken up my old Baramahl friends and Coimbatore, in both of which, but particularly in Coimbatore, great abuses prevail. I think that, in our conversations at home, I have mentioned that the leases would induce the collector's servants and head inhabitants to keep down the cultivation, and to depress it still more by false accounts, and that Government would thus lose a large portion of revenue, without relieving, in any degree, the pressure upon the great body of the rayets. All this has happened in Coimbatore, and, with a few exceptions, in every district into which the decennial lease has been introduced. Coimbatore would be the first field that could possibly be found for examining the effects both of the judicial and the new revenue system, for the court servants have been tried and convicted of a conspiracy against the revenue; and the judge has now reported that the revenue have conspired against the court servants; I have therefore been wishing for some time past to go there, but I have great doubts of obtaining permission, as almost every man in office here is against my being sent. They have in general maintained that there were no abuses, and that the leases were settled with great correctness; but now that the reports of the assistant-collector Bell have stated the contrary, they are unwilling to put such arguments into my hands as I should find there. I enclose you a document from the Sudder Adawlut, by which you will see that they did not decide one appeal for nearly three years. When Stratton was appointed, there were many petitions of two or three years' standing, which had not been answered.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 6th October, 1815.

Our regulations have been in the hands of Greenway three months, and may remain there as much longer, if Mr. Elliot does not call for them and publish them, without a reference to Bengal, which his council wish him to adopt. Even if he take this line, they cannot be translated and promulgated in less than six months. If they go to Bengal, they will never pass, at least not in the lifetime of the Commission. Had the Council adopted the plan of the Court of Directors, contained in the judicial dispatch of the 29th of April, 1814, the

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regulations might have been passed before this time, and we might now have been looking at the effect of them, and supporting them where we found they met with opposition. You will see that, if they are kept back until the information required by the Government consultations of the 1st of March is furnished, they can never pass, because that information can only be got from a district which has been surveyed and settled, Ryotwar; and even not completely from such a district. The public correspondence will show you the cause of my going to Coimbatore; it is to assist John Sullivan in discovering the cause of the abuses which have been committed, and the means of restoring order.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 30th April, 1816.

The Commissioners' proposed regulations may now be considered as passed, as the Governor means to put their passing to the vote on the 3rd instant. They will be opposed in Council, upon the grounds which I long ago stated—the necessity of waiting for all the heads of information required by the resolutions of the 1st of March, 1815, together with a report from the Commission of the potails and tallaries, fit or unfit, willing or unwilling, to execute the duties expected of them; and of those referring the regulations to Bengal for sanction, previous to their being promulgated here. The information which was sought, seemed to be required merely for the purpose of wasting time. No man who knew any thing of potails or tallaries, ever thought of asking them whether or not they liked their duty. As to their allowances being in many cases inadequate, it might be made the subject of future inquiry; but was no ground for suspending the introduction of the proposed system. A police committee had been sitting in 1812 to 1814, and had called for all the statements of allowances that the collectors could furnish. A fresh call was not likely to produce any thing beyond another copy of what had already been forwarded. That committee recommended that the police should be placed under the heads of villages. But it is now thought, that these same heads of villages may not be willing or able to act, because they may, in addition to their police and revenue duties, have two or three ten-rupee causes to settle in the course of the year.

There is nothing in the Court's letter respecting the allowances or inclinations of the potails or tallaries, or authorizing the keeping back the regulations until an inquiry shall have been made

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into these matters. The ascertainment of the allowances in question could only be accurately made by a survey, which would be the work of many years. When collectors of unsurveyed districts report that tallaries have only three or four rupees a-year, we cannot be sure whether they have three or four, or thirty or forty. The accounts are too vague to be depended upon. The answer to all this is, that whether the tallarie has four rupees or forty, he is at his post, doing his duty; and it seems therefore quite unnecessary to make the introduction of the village police depend upon the answers he may give to our questions, about his liking his duty or his allowances. In many places, the allowances are too small, because we have stopped a part of them; in others, they also appear to be too small, where no change has been made, and the tallaries are said to be starving; but as they have been starving in the same way for a century, and still do the village duty, they have undoubtedly the means of living, either from land at a favourable rent, or some other source, which has escaped the collectors; and if we wait until it is discovered by them, we shall be just where we now are ten years hence.

The Police Committee, though they proposed that the police should be placed under the heads of villages, never attempted to define what the head of a village was. Different opinions were entertained on this point among the people at the Presidency; but nothing was fixed. The Commission have defined what they thought must, under the various changes occasioned by our revenue system, be considered as the head of the village; but because this definition does not suit all opinions, the whole system is violently opposed, upon the plea that the Commissioners' head of the village is not the potail of the Court of Directors. It was never maintained by the rayetwar collectors, that the establishment of village servants was complete and uniform throughout the country; and that there were ancient hereditary potails in every village. They described the general structure of the village municipality, as it ought to be when complete, and as it still existed throughout the greater part of India; but they mentioned that in many places it had been violently broken down, and in others neglected, and suffered to fall into decay; but that it might be gradually restored, and that enough still remained, almost every where, for carrying on every necessary duty. The Commission have said, wherever the ancient or modern potail is in office, he is the head of the village,

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and that where there is no potail in office, the person, however he may be designated, who comes nearest to the description of the potail, by exercising the same powers, is the head of the village. The Sudder Adawlut and their friends say, that this is a departure from the plan of the Court of Directors, who looked forward to a potail, not to a renter or a renter's agent, or a stipendiary corrupt agent, as the head of the village. To this we answer, that we must take what we have; if we cannot get the best, we must take the next best; that our permanent and lease settlements have in some cases abolished the office of potail, and included his enaums in the rental, and in others have resumed a part of his enaum, and set him aside to make way for a renter; that you cannot restore the potails without violating your engagements, and throwing the village into confusion; because, if the potails were suffered to exercise any authority over the servants of the village, they would form a party in opposition to the renter, and prevent the collection of the rents, and the servants would be under two masters; that whether a man is called a renter or a stipendiary agent, is nothing to the purpose; that if he is the collector of the revenue, has the charge of the village servants, and directs the affairs of the village, he is the head of the village, and is for the time the real potail; that this renter is, in many cases, the old potail, and that even the stipendiary agent will often be merely a new title for the old potail acting for a distant renter. All this has been fully stated in our report; and will, I hope, be understood at home. When we speak of a potail, we must attend to reality, and not to the name. If we were to insist on employing only the ancient potails, we should be obliged to look out for the obscure descendants of above a thousand of them dismissed under the Mysore Government, and remove an equal number of more modern potails, who have been acting from twenty to fifty years. The inconveniences, however, of renters, and the agents of renters acting as potails, will not be so great as might at first sight be expected. It will not apply to one-tenth of the territory under Madras, and even in that portion it will diminish every day, as many of the renters are constantly failing, and the villages reverting to the old potails. With regard to the great zemindaries of the northern circars and the western pollams, we can have very little internal control, whether the villages are under old or new heads; but even there I am satisfied that by far the greatest proportion of the villages is in the hands of old potails. I found it so in the great zemin-

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daries of Chittoor and Harpenhilly; and I see no reason to believe that the case is different in other quarters. It is evident that no person can be the village moonsif who is not the head of the village. The head of the village is the person who commands the village servants, directs the cultivation, and collects the revenue; revenue and agriculture are his constant employment. Police is also one of his duties, but is only a casual one. Justice is still more casual; for it may sometimes happen, that not a single suit will come before him in the whole year. The only practicable course seems therefore to be, to let the performance of this contingent duty belong to the potail *ex-officio*, for it certainly could not be discharged by any other person, by whatever title he might be called; because he could have no authority over the village servants. The Sudder Adawlut conclude their long remarks upon our drafts, by proposing that a selection shall be made from the potails for the office of village moonsif, so as to give to each a circle of from ten to twenty miles. This is evidently a second edition of the Native-Commissioner Regulation. They propose that the selection shall be made from those potails who are pointed out as most fit, by the references of the people to their decisions. They do not seem to be aware that upon their own doctrine, and that of most of the subordinate judges, the discovery of the proper persons could never be made in this way; for they maintain, that the natives have so little confidence in each other, that they cannot be prevailed upon to submit to arbitration; and while they retain this distrust, it is not easy to conceive how the voice of the people is to point out the persons whom they wish to have as arbitrators. The simplest and wisest, and indeed the only mode that can be safely adopted, is that of constituting the potail *ex-officio* village judge, as ordered from home. The appointment cannot be made by selection, in the way proposed; and even if it could by any other, *it* would be effected by bribery and intrigue among the servants of the zillah court, which the judge would be unable to prevent. It may be supposed, that the same talent which enables the *ex-officio* potail to manage the revenue of his village, will qualify him to decide two or three ten or five-rupee suits in the year, or to refer them to a punchayet. But suppose it does not, it is of no great consequence; the parties can go to another potail. In the same way, when the potail is supposed to be partial or corrupt, the parties will go somewhere else. We shall have from the potails hundreds of decisions contrary to form; many that

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are wrong in judgment, and many perhaps that are corrupt; and much clamour will be raised about them; but still the evil will be trifling in proportion to the good, and will gradually be corrected by the people not applying to potails of bad character. The great advantages of the village regulations are, that they do not touch the existing judicial system, but leave it to go on as before. Every inhabitant, therefore, who does not like the potail or punchayet, has still the benefit of all the existing code, as it is optional with him either to resort to the village authorities or to the regular courts. Which of these are best suited to the wants of the inhabitants, must be left to their own decision. The experience of a few years will show to which they give the preference.

Another argument which has been brought against the village regulations is, that they do not apply to those villages and districts which are managed by renters and agents, instead of regular potails; and that to introduce them into such places is contrary to the intention of the Court of Directors. There is every where a head of a village who manages its affairs; and it would certainly be absurd to say that the inhabitants are not to have justice at home, but must go to a distant court, merely because this head man does not correspond with the idea which some people have formed of a regular potail.

I do not know that any of the men who so stoutly oppose the present modifications, have ever suggested any thing for the improvement of the revenue or judicial system, though they have adopted without hesitation whatever has come from Bengal. They are much alarmed lest a corrupt village judge should contaminate the purity of the judicial system; and they tremble at the unknown consequences of his oppressions, armed as he is with the power of deciding on a cause of ten rupees, and of confining for twelve hours; yet they have sat quietly since 1802, and allowed the great body of the rayets to be put under contributions by every man who chose to do it. It is only now that the Coimbatore inquiries, in which they had certainly no share, has suggested that among so many regulations, it might be useful to have one to protect the rayets from extortion, and the revenue from depredation. These objections about heads of villages, seem to me so whimsical, that I am persuaded they originate in their not having any very distinct notions on the subject. None of them have ever had much to say to heads of villages; and some of them, I imagine, first became acquainted

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with them through the medium of the Court's letters. Some of them are, I think, hostile to the village regulations on principle, and are convinced that they must do mischief, because they are contrary to what they have been accustomed to follow and applaud. But others, I am satisfied, would gladly see them introduced, if they could only be sure that they were in every point conformable to the intentions of the Court of Directors, and that the evils which they apprehend from them would not arise.

You will observe, that the potail is not to act as referee, and that his decisions, as moonsif, are final and limited to ten rupees. Reasons on both these heads have been given in our report; but there are others which we did not think it advisable to notice. The reference of suits would have brought the potail too much in contact with the zillah judge; would have frightened him, and made him wish to give up the duty. An appeal to the zillah judge would have had the same effect, and would have been secretly encouraged by the servants and vakeels, &c. of the court, who are jealous of all new dealers in the same line; for they have discernment enough to see that the village system will injure the business of the court followers, and will eventually occasion a reduction of their establishments. The potail requires rather to be encouraged than to be alarmed by penalties; the forms and checks by which he is restrained are rather too numerous than too few. His jurisdiction reaches only to ten rupees, his decisions are set aside for partiality, and he is liable for corruption to fine and imprisonment. Under the Native Governments, he settled suits in his village; and if either party was dissatisfied, he carried his complaint to the amildar, who settled it, but no questions were put to the potail. When he had given his decision in his village, right or wrong, he was never afterwards troubled about the matter. We must therefore be cautious not to bring him too directly under the authority of men who have many prejudices against him, who have pronounced that he can do no good, and who will not be sorry to see their predictions verified.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 24th September, 1816.

You will be glad to hear that the regulations defining the powers of the collector as magistrate, and of the zillah judge as criminal judge, have at last passed, together with the general police regulation.

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A long Report has been given in by the Sudder Adawlut on the answers to their queries, received from the provincial and zillah judges. It was so short a time in my possession, that I could only run over it hastily. It was chiefly on matters of civil process; but where it treats of the transfer of the police to the collector, it evidently, I think, endeavours to place in an unfavourable light those opinions which are at variance with their own. Mr. Baber, in particular, is treated very unfairly. The Sudder Adawlut seem to value opinions rather by their number than their quality. The opinion of such a man as Mr. Baber, who has been so long and actively employed in police duties, both in the revenue and judicial line, is worth the opinions of the whole Sudder Adawlut and half a dozen of common judges besides. You know, I believe, that ——'s opinion stands for that of the Sudder Adawlut; he writes whatever he thinks proper, signs it without difficulty, and it is then the voice of the court. I never myself had much faith in the opinions of the judges concerning the police, because their fixed situation gave them little opportunity of knowing much about it; and my faith has not been much increased by what I have seen since my return to India. The zillah judges are now chiefly men who were sent from Madras as registers; they had the code of regulations for their guide, and few ever thought of inquiring about any thing beyond them. They have been fixed to one spot, with little communication with the inhabitants, except by a native in court. They hold them in too much contempt to think their institutions worthy of the smallest consideration, and they have such a reverence for the courts, that they think every improvement in the state of the country is the consequence of the labours of some court or other. The circuit judges entertain the same notions; and hence they attribute the submission of poligars and the increasing tranquillity of the country, to this or that judge, when it is owing to neither judge nor collector, but to our extended influence among the neighbouring states, and to the dread of a regular army, which puts down all opposition. The objections of such men to the new arrangement, cannot be expected to arise from any knowledge of the native character or customs: it rests upon the old commonplace arguments of their venality, ignorance, and incapacity, and the necessity of employing European agency every where. It is besides very natural that every person connected with the courts should disapprove of measures which they suspect will tend to diminish the business of the courts, and to

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enable Government to abolish some of them. The advocates for the old system speak on all occasions as if the regulations were completely efficient throughout the country; whereas they have little effect, except in the immediate vicinity of the court, and their police is every where vexatious and oppressive. Both the framers of the regulations, and most of the men who speak of their excellence, never seem to have considered the great difference between the condition of the people here and in England; and that the state of society and the character of the natives make the regulations totally inapplicable to the great body of the people in this country. Mr. Sullivan and myself have, in two or three paragraphs of the Coimbatore report, endeavoured to show how little they are calculated to redress or protect the rayets; and I hope he will find time to give some details of the police of that province, which was held up as a model to be imitated every where else. If he does, he will show how odious, and degradingly vexatious it has been to the inhabitants; how utterly incompetent a stationary magistrate is to control it, and how little dependence is to be placed on the reports of the circuit judges in general, whenever they venture beyond their calendars of prisoners.

But it is only waste of time to continue the discussion about the new arrangements. The only way is to let them have a fair trial, like their predecessors, for eight or ten years' experience will show which is best; the natives will decide the question. If they settle their disputes among themselves, through heads of villages and punchayets, and leave the courts with not half their present business, it will be pretty evident that they have got something they like better. Though the regulations framed by the Commission are now passed, I expect nothing from them for some time. The example set at the Presidency will extend to the provinces, and in many of them it will yet be some months before they are even begun to be acted upon; but they will find their way through all opposition, and I trust make us ashamed, in all parts of India, of having attempted to exclude the natives from all share in the administration of justice. I don't know what Government are doing with the Coimbatore report—it might have been sent home six months ago. It is a tender subject for most of the great authorities here, who did not believe there could be any abuses, where the regulations were so well understood. —— has found fault with some casual remarks made by the collector and myself on the servants' regulations, and has, in

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the name of the Board of Revenue, in a letter to the collector, entered into an elaborate argument to expose our errors, which I imagine John Sullivan will not think it worth while to answer. I am very anxious to reform both the servant and the curnum regulations, so as to leave the collector at liberty to employ his own servants, and to exercise the same authority over the curnum as before the permanent settlement; but I doubt if we shall be able to make the alterations, unless orders to that effect are sent from home.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Coimbatore, 17th March, 1817.

I COULD have wished to have had the village regulations more free than they are from forms and writings; but so many imaginary difficulties and delays occurred at every step, that I was very glad to get them passed in any way. I thought it better to do this, than to run the risk of something happening to prevent their being carried into effect at all, while we were wasting time in unprofitable debates. I was satisfied that the main object was to get them established any how; that when this was once accomplished, they would maintain themselves, and that whatever corrections might be found requisite, could easily be made hereafter. I must still repeat what I have said in every letter, that the only chance of rendering either the present or any other system efficient, is to employ men who are not hostile, but friendly to it; and that as opportunities offer, men of this description ought to be placed in council, in the Sudder Adawlut, and the Board of Revenue.

The influence of the judicial system has been very prejudicial to the internal administration of the country, both among Europeans and natives. It has thrown almost the whole of it into the hands of judges who know little of the natives, because they have little communication with them, except upon the bench. It has compelled those collectors who would wish to protect the rayets against the extortions of zemindars and renters, to look on quietly, because, by law, redress can only be given by the courts of justice, to which the rayets cannot afford to go. It has enabled those collectors who are averse to every business but amusement, to refuse to hear the complaints of their rayets; and it has left the rayets in a worse state than under any native government, completely at the mercy of the renters, because the courts cannot give, and the collectors are prohibited from giving, them relief.

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Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Bangalore, 28th July, 1817.

THREE or four years more will work a great change in public here. It cannot be expected that men who have been accustomed to regard the system of 1793 as perfect, will easily give it up as altogether inadequate; or that even those who have lost their reverence for that system, will favour a new one, which must, in its course, do away a great proportion of the courts and appointments connected with them. We might as well expect to find military men applauding a system for reducing the army. I am not therefore at all discouraged by the number of opinions against the system, because every person in the judicial line must be against it, either from interest or prejudice. I am still less discouraged, from observing on the spot how little those opinions are worth, even if there was nothing to bias them: nine-tenths of them are those of men who know as little of India as if they had never left England. The case of Coimbatore, and the opinions procured upon it previous to the investigation, are strong proofs of how little the oldest servants know of the natives, and the abuses of authority.

I cannot better close this chapter than with the following interesting letter to his Sister.

TO HIS SISTER.

Darramporam, 30th December, 1815.

I LEFT Madras in October, after a residence of a year, which is longer than I have been in any one place these five-and-twenty years. My wife accompanied me, and made a better traveller than I expected.

I am employed at present with the Collector of Coimbatore, in investigating the abuses which were committed under his predecessor. This has already employed us above two months, and another will be required to finish our work, when I must return to Madras.

Our time passes pleasantly enough. We live chiefly in tents, stay at a place ten days or a fortnight, and then go to another, forty or fifty miles distant. Our journeys are generally about fifteen miles a-day, and at this season of the year the country is fine, and the weather beautiful. Travelling days are always pleasant to me, and I do not care if I were to travel all the time I continue in

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India, but I fear I shall be obliged to stay chiefly at Madras. I wish myself home again, for I like to be either completely idle, and my own master, or to have an employment that is interesting and important. There is no situation likely to fall to me in this country that I care about. There is but one, I think, of any consequence, and even that one in a few years would be indifferent to me. I shall therefore, most probably, be leaving this country in two years; and, I suppose, from having so long led a rambling life, I shall never be able to settle quietly any where.

I have this moment had a long visit from a Swami. This is a kind of religious Brahmin you have, perhaps, hardly ever heard of, for I do not remember meeting with any account of them in books on India. The officiating priests of Pagodas, whom Europeans in general suppose to be at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment, are on the contrary an inferior class of Brahmins, who are regarded merely as servants of the Pagodas, and have no influence among the people; but the Swamis possess an influence not inferior to that of the Pope and his bishops and cardinals in the darkest ages. There are two principal ones, whose authority is acknowledged all over India; there are also several whose jurisdiction is limited to particular sects of Hindoos. The two principal have many subordinate Swamis, like cardinals and bishops, who in their respective districts settle all points of religion and caste. They have villages, and sometimes whole districts allotted for their maintenance. All Hindoos treat not only the principal but their inferior Swamis with the highest respect; the greatest princes go out to meet them, and bow down before them. The Swamis do not marry like the Pagoda Brahmins, but must lead a life of celibacy and temperance, or rather abstinence. They have no nephews and nieces like the Swamis of Europe. Their abstinence is real, their diet is more simple than that of a peasant. They travel in state with elephants, palanquins, drums, and standards, but they amass no wealth. Whatever they receive they distribute as fast as they get it, and on the whole they are to the full as respectable as their brethren in Europe.

The old gentleman who has just left me, is a little thin man, whose appearance would never lead a European to suspect that he was a prelate. His only dress was a single piece of cotton cloth, one end of it wrapped round his loins, and the other thrown over his head, and a pair of wooden sandals. He walked into the tent with his sandals on his feet, without noticing me till he had

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got possession of a chair; he then drew his legs under him, turned to me, and talked away with great animation, but great gravity, for almost an hour. The cause of his visit was to request my aid in preventing rents from being levied in certain villages by another Swami, until it should be decided to which of them they belonged.

I have been three days in writing this letter. The first day I wrote the most at Darramporam; the second day, yesterday, I got nearly to the bottom of the second page without interruption, and to-day I shall finish it in two lines more. I am now writing in my tent, after a short march, pitched in an open spot, surrounded by fields of luxuriant grain. You are shivering in your large rooms at Ammondel, and perhaps looking at your stream covered with ice. I hope I shall soon see its banks again. My love to Mr. Erskine. Many happy years to all at Ammondel!

The following characteristic and striking letters did not reach me in time for insertion in their proper place.

TO SIR GRAHAM MOORE.

London, 8th June 1813.

MY DEAR GRAHAM,

Your letter of the 6th of May was between two and three weeks in finding its way to me. I had no suspicion that you would have been called out again so soon, just as you were beginning to get comfortably settled in the country. Your removal is a great disappointment to me, for I had promised myself many a pleasant walk to the Roman camp, and other places about Brook Farm, and many a long conversation about past times, and the present state of the world; but these hopes, like many others, are banished for the present. As you are employed, however, I like to see you in the Baltic better than any where else, because it is the station where, perhaps, your services can be most useful, and where your mind will be most interested. You are now a principal actor in a campaign which will never be forgotten in the world, for it will decide the fate of Europe; and if the German Governments do their duty, will, I am convinced, decide it in favour of liberty from French bondage. I hope you follow the example of your excellent brother John, and keep a journal of every transaction, however minute; for things which at first sight appear of little consequence, often become important from

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their connection with other matters, which we do not at the time foresee. When you return to Brook Farm, we shall talk over the campaign, and refer to your notes. I am not acquainted with the nature of your command, but I trust that it is such as to improve your fortune, for though you are as little covetous of wealth as any man, it would be a great comfort to be so easy in your circumstances as to ensure your being able to live in the country in the way you have hitherto done, which, when I last saw you, you were doubtful whether you could continue. A small addition to your fortune would remove the uncertainty, and enable you to live in the moderate, rational manner to which you have been accustomed. All that I would care for myself in the way of fortune, would be to have in Surrey just such a place as yours, and to be able to see my friends without looking too narrowly into my expenses.

I wish to God that I were, like you, a married man. I would not remain longer than a month with my wife, and then I would visit the armies both in Germany and Spain. But I see no immediate chance of the change I wish for, for my long absence from my own country has thrown me out of that society in which I might have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with young women. I had an invitation from your mother to dine with her yesterday, and meet your wife, and James and his wife, but was unluckily engaged. It was one of the family parties which I should have enjoyed very much. It would have reminded me of old times and lang syne. God bless you, my dear Graham.

Yours ever,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Ardgowan, 5th October 1813.

MY DEAR GRAHAM,

You probably remember seeing Colonel Cunningham, an old friend of mine, at my lodgings in London. His brother died suddenly last year, leaving a widow and two sons to be supported by him. One of them is at present a midshipman on board the Orion. This ship, it is said, is to be paid off, in which case you might, perhaps, have a vacancy for him in your own ship, or be able to get him appointed to another, where he would be taught his duty, and be well taken care of. I suppose he is just like other boys; but if you find him no worse, I hope you will not forget him.

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I have been for the last fortnight paying visits at Greenock and Glasgow. If I had nothing else to think of, I fancy that I could for ever ramble over the scenes of our early days, for the pleasure I feel in doing so is not at all diminished by the frequent visits I have made to them since my return to this country. My favourite excursion is to Woodside, and along the banks of Kelvin, where we used to bathe in former days; but I have also great enjoyment in traversing the streets and closes of Glasgow, and comparing their present and past state. As I saunter along, I imagine that it is now, or at least that it is destined to be, the finest city in the kingdom; that the buildings are handsomer, the merchants more enterprising, and the manufacturers more skilful, and even the common people more honest, contented-looking folks, than one sees anywhere else. I like to talk Scotch with the country-people and children I meet with in my walks, but am sorry to say that the language is much corrupted by the influx of English words. Many of our old idioms and phrases, however, are still preserved. I heard one the other day, in all its ancient purity, from a young girl. I asked her where her mother was. "Where is she?" said she:—"She's in her skin, and when she comes out loup you in." I had not heard this expression for above thirty years, but on hearing it I instantly recognized it as one that I had often made use of myself. I wish you were once more at home, to enjoy all these simple pleasures, for which you have so high a relish. If the allies will only persevere, they will get stronger every day, and will be able, in another campaign or two, to dictate such a peace as would restore the independence of Europe; and then we may expect to have some rest in our own country, and to visit others with safety.

Yours most truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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